Robert Alphonso Taft

LATE A SENATOR FROM
OHIO

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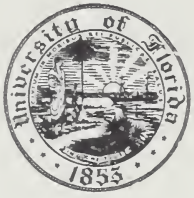

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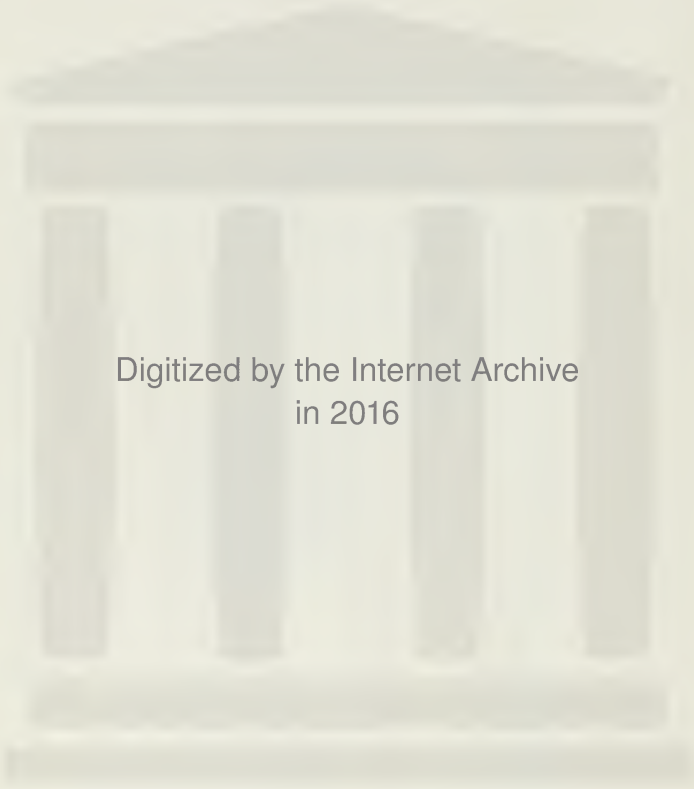
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U. S. Congress

Memorial Services

HELD IN THE ROTUNDA OF THE CAPITOL, THE SENATE, AND THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE UNITED STATES, TOGETHER WITH REMARKS PRESENTED IN EULOGY OF

Robert Alphonso Taft

LATE A SENATOR FROM OHIO

Eighty-Third Congress
Second Session

UNITED STATES
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Biography

ROBERT ALPHONSO TAFT (son of President William Howard Taft) was born in Cincinnati, Ohio, September 8, 1889; attended the public schools of Cincinnati, Ohio, and of Manila, Philippine Islands, and Taft School, Watertown, Conn.; was graduated from Yale University, New Haven, Conn., in 1910 and from Harvard Law School, Cambridge, Mass., in 1913; was admitted to the Ohio bar in 1913 and commenced practice in Cincinnati, Ohio; director in a number of business enterprises in Cincinnati; assistant counsel, United States Food Administration, in 1917 and 1918; counsel, American Relief Administration, in 1919; member of the Ohio House of Representatives 1921–26, serving as speaker in 1926; served in the Ohio Senate in 1931 and 1932; delegate to the Republican National Conventions in 1932, 1940, and 1944; elected as a Republican to the United States Senate in 1938; reelected in 1944 and again in 1950 and served from January 3, 1939, until his death; unsuccessful in 1952 for the Republican nomination for President of the United States; died in New York City, N. Y., July 31, 1953; memorial services were held in the rotunda of the Capitol; interment in Indian Hill Episcopal Church Cemetery (Indian Hill), Cincinnati, Ohio.

Memorial Services
in the
Rotunda of the Capitol

Eighty-third Congress
First Session

Memorial Services in the Rotunda of the Capitol

MONDAY, *August 3, 1953.*

At 12 o'clock meridian the Senate proceeded to the rotunda of the Capitol to attend the memorial services for the late Senator ROBERT A. TAFT, of Ohio.

The casket containing the body of the deceased Senator had been previously brought into the rotunda and placed on the catafalque, draped with the American flag, and surrounded by many floral tributes. An honor guard made up of one representative of each of the Armed Services, the Army, the Navy, the Air Force, and the Marine Corps, under command of an officer of the Army, was posted around the catafalque.

The Members of the Senate, preceded by the Vice President and the Secretary of the Senate, entered the rotunda and were seated on the left of the catafalque.

The Members of the House of Representatives, preceded by the Speaker and its Clerk (Lyle O. Snader), entered the rotunda and were escorted to seats on the right of the catafalque.

The members of the Diplomatic Corps entered the rotunda and were seated to the left.

The Chief Justice of the United States and Associate Justices of the Supreme Court of the United States entered the rotunda and were seated in the area to the left.

The Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, the Chief of Staff of the Army, the Chief of Naval Operations, the Chief of Staff of the Air Force, the Commandant of the Marine Corps, and the Commandant of the Coast Guard entered the rotunda and were seated in the area to the left.

Mrs. Taft and the family of the late Senator were escorted to the seats assigned to them.

The members of the Cabinet entered the rotunda and were seated in the area to the left.

Gov. Frank J. Lausche, of Ohio, and General of the Army Douglas MacArthur and Mrs. MacArthur, were escorted to the seats assigned to them.

Mr. Lawrence Richey, representing former President Herbert Hoover, was escorted to the seat assigned to him.

The President of the United States and Mrs. Eisenhower entered the rotunda, escorted by the Secretary of the Senate (J. Mark Trice) and the Sergeant at Arms of the Senate (Forest A. Harness), and were escorted to seats on the right.

The Senator from Ohio [Mr. Bricker]; the Chaplain of the Senate, Rev. Frederick Brown Harris, D. D.; and the Chaplain of the House of Representatives, Rev. Bernard Braskamp, D. D., were escorted to the platform at the head of the catafalque.

The Marine Band, under the direction of Lt. Col. William F. Santelmann, played America the Beautiful.

The Chaplain of the Senate, pronounced the following invocation:

Let us now praise famous men and our fathers that begat us, leaders of the people by their counsels, honored in their generation and the glory of their time; those that have left a name behind them that their praises might be reported. Their bodies are buried in peace, but their names liveth forevermore.

The Lord is my light and my salvation; whom shall I fear? The Lord is the strength of my life; of whom shall I be afraid?

Yea, though I walk through the valley of the shadow of death, I will fear no evil, for Thou art with me; Thy rod and Thy staff they comfort me.

Let us lift our hearts in prayer:

O God, who art the strength of Thy saints and who redeemest the souls of Thy servants: We bless Thy name for all those who have died in the Lord and who now rest from their labors, having received the end of their faith, even the salvation of their souls.

Especially we call to remembrance Thy loving kindness and Thy tender mercies to this Thy servant. For all Thy goodness that withheld not his portion in the joys of this earthly life, and for Thy guiding hand along the way of his pilgrimage, we give Thee thanks and praise. We bless Thee for Thy grace that kindled in his heart the love of Thy dear name, that enabled him to endure unto the end, to greet the unseen with a cheer; yea, to become more than conqueror through Him that loveth us.

And now in this solemn hour, in this domed shrine of each patriot's devotion, the chosen leaders of our mourning Nation gather about the mortal body of the fallen leader who, with consecrated powers, scorning personal delights for the sake of statecraft, poured forth devoted and unstinted service for the America he loved. Remembering today his towering mind, his transparent sincerity, his unsullied integrity as he grappled with the legislative problems of his troubled times, a grateful Republic tenderly lifts his familiar form to this most exalted pedestal of national honor that it might here write, as the victorious record of his toiling career: He has fought a good fight, he has finished his course, he has kept the faith.

And grant, O Lord, we beseech Thee, that we who rejoice in the triumph of Thy departed servants may profit by their example; that becoming followers of their faith and patience, we also may enter with them into an inheritance incorruptible and undefiled, and that fadeth not away. Through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

Mr. BRICKER. The heart of our Nation is heavy today. Its head is bowed. A grateful people are saddened by the death of their faithful servant, ROBERT A. TAFT. In the words of Edwin Markham:

> And when he fell in whirlwind, he went down
> As when a kingly cedar—green with boughs
> Goes down with a great shout upon the hills
> And leaves a lonesome space against the sky.

In him were personified the noblest attributes of the Republic—reverence of God and love of liberty.

The departed was my closest political friend. Countless others could call him such. He gathered to himself loyal friends in every walk of life.

Humble in victory, without rancor in defeat, he traveled far along life's road to great achievement. Service to others is the toll we pay as we travel life's highway. For every mile along his way, he paid in devoted service to his fellowman.

There are many roads in life which one may follow. Some lead to quicksands of tyranny, and some to freedom. Some roads lead to individual despair and others to happiness. Many roads lead to destinations unknown. Senator TAFT was always ready to use his legislative influence to erect a helpful sign for the benefit of his fellow citizens traveling along life's many highways and byways. He never hesitated to recommend the coercion of law to prevent the stronger travelers from impeding the progress of the weak. He used his voice and his vote to help those stranded in the march of life through no fault of their own. His consistent political creed, however, was that the power of government should not be used to make the individual march on any particular road. BOB TAFT left that choice to the individual just as it was left to him and to us by our forebears.

He was clear of thought and blunt in speech but sincere conviction rang in every word. As Lincoln said of Henry Clay:

His eloquence did not consist, as many fine specimens of eloquence do, of types and figures, elegant arrangement of words and sentences, but rather of that deeply earnest and impassioned tone and manner which can proceed only from great sincerity and thorough conviction in the speaker of the justice of his cause. He never spoke merely to be heard.

Greed for power never goaded him. There was no scheming and no conniving in his makeup. BOB TAFT would not compromise with wrong nor waver on a principle. He did not run with demagogues.

A great man of God in a Senate prayer said—as we well remember—"O Lord, give us men with a mandate higher than the ballot box." That prayer was answered in Senator TAFT. He seemed touched with a quality which came from beyond the greed, the pettiness, the passing passions of the hour.

From an early age ROBERT TAFT seemed destined for leadership. Grandson of a Secretary of War and Attorney General of the United States; son of a President and Chief Justice of the United States, he has adorned a great family record.

In his mother's memoirs we read of his grandparents: "Judge Alfonso and Mrs. Taft had created a family atmosphere in which the children breathed in the highest ideals, and were stimulated to sustained and strenuous intellectual and moral effort in order to conform to family standards. They had an abiding confidence in the future of their children which strongly influenced the latter to justify it."

Through three generations of this family, the same could well be written. BOB TAFT had a great pride in the four fine sons he and his beloved Martha have brought to manhood and success.

The day when Senator TAFT last appeared on the Senate floor, I sat next to him and asked him how he was feeling. He answered: "I feel better because I spent the weekend at home with my family and didn't have to go to the hospital." To him, Martha and his family were first in his love and affection. His family carries on in a great heritage.

Bob Taft stood first in his class at Yale when he received his baccalaureate degree, first in his class at Harvard when he took his law degree, and attained highest honors in the bar examination in Ohio. He was a leader of our bar, a truly great lawyer, associated in many of the most important cases of the past 35 years.

But it was in political life that his leadership was to reach its zenith. He was speaker of the Ohio House of Representatives, leader in the Ohio Senate, and in 1938 with his election to the United States Senate, opportunity for national leadership opened wide to him. Truly, the United States Senate was his field.

In 1944 he came to my home and told me he would be a candidate for reelection and then told me his great desire was to be a real leader in the United States Senate. We today are comforted that he so nobly achieved that innermost yearning.

Senator Taft was a true liberal, as a review of his record will show and as people more and more realize. He believed in the most freedom possible for the individual consistent with orderly society. In the cataclysm of two World Wars, individual freedom threatened to become submerged in the power of Government. But through it all Senator Taft stanchly kept the faith that was his. He knew that finally the principle of human liberty must prevail.

Like Thomas Jefferson he waged an unrelenting war on all forms of tyranny over the minds of men. He championed unpopular causes and espoused unorthodox views regardless of political consequences. He insisted on the same right for others. In exercising the right of every American to challenge the validity of all doctrines and of all beliefs, he was nevertheless aware of a profound political paradox—that some things are beyond challenge. One does not challenge the value of freedom; one does not question that mankind has inherent God-given rights; one does not

doubt the value of the American Constitution to secure those rights; one does not doubt that those rights are divinely bestowed. All this is a matter of political and religious faith, without which no political leader, whatever his talents, can be called great in the American tradition. The American system, as he so well knew, is truly builded upon a spiritual foundation. Inspired by Senator TAFT'S devotion to individual liberty, new leaders will arise to carry the torch of true liberalism toward the final goal.

Senator ROBERT A. TAFT'S whole life was one of deep convictions, of confidence in the ultimate victory of right and righteousness. When convinced of the rightness of a cause, he stood firm even though he stood alone.

Examples of his unflinching courage could be cited endlessly. In 1946 a transportation strike was paralyzing America. Public sentiment overwhelmingly favored drastic action. Both the President and the House of Representatives recommended conscription of striking workers. The Senate seemed likely to follow. It was due primarily to Senator TAFT that this precedent for tyranny was not established. Though he stood virtually alone at first, his action soon received nationwide acclaim. This was only one case out of many justifying his confidence that the truth as he saw it would ultimately prevail.

Senator TAFT was a man of great faith. He had faith in himself born of a great intellect, indefatigable industry and manifold experiences. He had faith in his fellow man. That faith in others led them to put their trust in him.

He had a great faith in our kind of government. His life was dedicated to its preservation and its betterment. His compass was the Constitution of his country; his ultimate goal—a better life for his fellow man. To paraphrase Emerson—Governments have their development in the moral integrity and character of men.

This stricken leader had a great vision of the meaning of government. It was not for the few, not for the strong, but for the individual, for the good of all, that government should be organized. He believed truly in his heart that all men are created equal.

More important than all these things, Bob Taft had a deep and an abiding faith in Almighty God. He was an active churchman and to him the organized church was God's way of lifting up the lives of people.

He had a true faith that there is a divine providence working in the hearts and souls of men guiding us toward a day of better understanding, nobler relationships and peace on earth, good will among men, for which the Master whom he worshipped came and lived and gave his life. He believed there is a life hereafter in the spirit world. Those of us who have the faith to believe as he did know that his noble spirit lives on, for "In the way of righteousness is life; and in the pathway thereof there is no death." (Proverbs 12: 28.)

One of the imperishable yearnings of the soul of man is to live beyond the day of death. During life, our departed leader created to himself an everlasting memorial. His services to his Government and through Government to his fellow man will go on and on. Many hereafter, because of his ennobling example, will gain inspiration to serve in the cause to which he gave his full devotion. That will be our lasting memorial in his honor.

A grateful Nation bestows its sympathy to his loved ones in this hour of their bereavement.

May the Father of us all strengthen and sustain them.

No more fitting words can be found than those penned by the immortal Tennyson:

On God and godlike men we build our trust.
He is gone who seemed so great—
Gone, but nothing can bereave him of the force he made his own
Being here, and we believe him
Something far advanced in state,

And that he wears a truer crown
Than any wreath that man can weave him.
Speak no more of his renown,
Lay your earthly fancies down,
And in the vast cathedral leave him,
God accept him, Christ receive him.

Now let us stand for a word of benediction.

The Chaplain of the House of Representatives thereupon pronounced the following benediction:

The Lord bless you and keep you; the Lord make His face to shine upon you and be gracious unto you; the Lord lift up His countenance upon you and give you peace.

May the peace of God, which passeth all understanding, keep your hearts and minds in the knowledge and love of God, and of His Son, Jesus Christ our Lord; and may the blessing of God Almighty, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, be amongst you and remain with you always. Amen.

The Marine Band played the Star-Spangled Banner, and the service was concluded.

Proceedings
in the
United States Senate

Proceedings in the Senate

FRIDAY, *July 31, 1953.*

Mr. BRICKER. Mr. President and my colleagues of the Senate, the sad news has just come over the wire of the death of my colleague, the able leader of the majority. It is very difficult for me to express my feelings at this time.

BOB TAFT and I started in political life in Ohio together about 1925. From that time to this, our association has been most intimate. We have thoroughly, completely, and harmoniously cooperated in doing the things we thought were in the best interests of the people of our State and our country.

We were candidates together first in 1938, when Senator TAFT was elected to the Senate. We were in very close touch with each other during that term, when I served as Governor of the State of Ohio. Before that, he was chairman of his county committee when I served in a State office, and we were in intimate contact in that relationship. Throughout those 30 years of intimate and friendly relationship, our feelings for each other went far beyond the political field.

BOB TAFT was an adornment to a great family name in Ohio and the Nation. Our State has been justly proud of him and of his services. It is impossible at this time for one to dwell on the various facets of his life and his services, but if I could characterize him in any single outstanding way today, it would be that he was a man of great and abiding faith. He had great faith in himself. His faith and confidence in himself was born of a great intellect, founded in a great spirit, and came from a vast and comprehensive experience in the field of public life.

Likewise he had great faith in his fellow men. I do not think there is a Member of the Senate who could not say that BOB TAFT was his friend.

In him, I had a deep confidence. I could go to him for help when I needed it. He would approach my problems with me in a fair and friendly way.

He had great faith in our system of government. He believed the people can govern themselves. I have talked to him many times about the structure of the Government in which he had so long served. He had a deep and abiding faith in the right of man to be free and to govern himself, and he was devoted to the perpetuation of the principles embodied in the Constitution of our great, free country.

Pervading it all was an abiding faith in Almighty God and a divine providence which guides and guards us, and directs our course of life. He was an active churchman. He always expressed his faith. He showed it not in words alone, but in his acts and deeds.

We did not fully encompass the spirit of this great leader who has gone. I think it was revealed perhaps more vividly to us in his tender treatment of his beloved wife in her affliction and her illness, which many of us have observed throughout recent months and years.

So a great leader has gone from our midst. He has well filled a place in the record of our State. It started with the days of the great Corwin and came down through the illustrious names that have been recorded on the rolls of service in this body. BOB TAFT will not be forgotten.

I suppose the deepest yearning in the soul of any man is to live hereafter in the spirit world, and those of us who have faith to believe there is a hereafter, believe that his service will continue. His influence will pervade this body. The mark of constructive work which he has done will be with us as long as man loves his fellowman, as long as he worships a Divine Father.

So, regretting this hour, as we do, the passing of this great leader, we wish to show our respect for him and express the wish that the good God whom he worshipped may give strength and consolation to his family and those whom he loved, and who loved him.

In keeping, therefore, with that wish, I send to the desk a resolution, for which I ask present consideration.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The resolution will be read.

The resolution (S. Res. 156) was read, considered by unanimous consent, and unanimously agreed to, as follows:

Resolved, That the Senate has heard with profound sorrow and deep regret the announcement of the death of Hon. ROBERT A. TAFT, late a Senator from the State of Ohio.

Resolved, That the President of the Senate appoint a committee, of which he shall be a member, to attend the funeral of the deceased Senator.

Resolved, That the Secretary communicate these resolutions to the House of Representatives and transmit a copy thereof to the family of the deceased.

Mr. KNOWLAND. Mr. President, I have consulted with the Senator from Ohio [Mr. Bricker]. I desire to inform the Senate that at an hour and date to be set after consultation with the Senator from Ohio and with the family of the deceased Senator, a time will be set aside for memorial services.

The Senate will not transact any further business before adjournment, but time will be permitted for remarks on the life and character of Senator TAFT before the Senate adjourns today.

Mr. President, the Senate and the Nation have been bereft of a great man. Republicans in the Senate have lost their leader. Senator TAFT and all of us here were justly proud of the title which had been given him, of Mr. Republican. But in a larger sense he was Mr. American as well. He had a long and distinguished career, serving his community, his State, and his Nation.

I think that if one could personify the life and character of Senator TAFT, all Americans, regardless of their partisan affiliation, would agree that he represented the acme of intellectual and personal integrity.

Senator TAFT knew the problems of the Nation. He deeply believed in our system of government. I had not known him as long as many of his other colleagues in the Senate had known him. As a youngster I was brought to Washington by my father, who was then a Member of the House of Representatives. A part of his term of service was during the time Senator TAFT's father was serving as President of the United States. I came to have a great respect for the name of Taft, and in later years I had the opportunity, long before coming to the Senate, of meeting BOB TAFT. I saw him under varying conditions—at great national conventions of his political party, and in the strain and stress of debate in the Senate. I always found him to be a fair and just man. I believe that those who served with him recognize that at all times he placed his Nation first, and his party in a secondary position, though he was a strong believer in party government as a part of our constitutional system.

I think Bob and Martha Taft were a great team, of whom Americans were justly proud. I know the Senate extends its deepest sympathy to his wonderful wife and to his children in the tremendous loss that they and we have suffered. No matter how long or how short a period any of us in this Chamber may live, we shall never forget the life, the character, the accomplishments, and the leadership of Senator ROBERT A. TAFT, of Ohio.

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. President, the passing of that great statesman, my good friend, ROBERT A. TAFT, is a great loss to this body, to this Nation, and to the free world. BOB TAFT's death is a tragedy which causes all good Americans to mourn.

ROBERT ALPHONSO TAFT

I think BOB TAFT was one of the truly great men who have walked our way. He was characterized by a rocklike integrity, unconquerable common sense at all times, and an unswerving devotion to the principles in which he believed.

During the first six months of this year I came to know BOB TAFT intimately. I had become a Member of the House of Representatives only a few months before he came to this august body. The affection which grew between us is one of the high points of my entire life.

It is true that we disagreed at times, and we expressed our disagreements rather vigorously; but, Mr. President, I can assure you that it was always disagreement on principle. It was the kind of disagreement which gentlemen could discuss without rancor.

There was nothing petty about BOB TAFT. He was always willing to treat his fellow man as he himself wished to be treated. He was always willing to cooperate with others in anything he believed was for the good of his Nation.

I do not think I have ever known a public servant who was more devoted to the concept of responsibility—responsibility in office, responsibility in politics, and responsibility in his personal life. It can be truly said of BOB TAFT that he always thought more of his obligations than he did of his privileges. I can think of no finer quality any man could possess.

We are all saddened by the news that has just come over the wires. BOB TAFT almost literally died in the saddle, riding hard. The last thing he said to me as he walked out of this Chamber—and he said it twice—was, "I'll be back in January. I'll be back in January."

He bore the tremendous burden of leadership, and all Senators know that it is a crushing burden, which has killed many a man. But even when he knew he was going to have to lay aside his duties for a while he marched out with his chin up and his chest out, and he gave all of us the

loving assurance that when we needed him we could call on him.

To his grieving family we can offer only the comfort that BOB TAFT won an assured place in history and a permanent resting place in the hearts of all good men. Our country, Mr. President, has lost one of its greatest leaders. I have lost one of the best friends I have ever had.

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. President, I shall probably never be so highly honored again as I was in May of 1952 when the late Senator from Ohio took me off the Senate floor and sat with me in the corridor and said, "I would like to have you nominate me at the national convention." It gave me an opportunity to do something more than casually praise the life and the accomplishment and the character of a man for whom I had developed a deep and sustained affection.

I have thought often of the term I used in the nominating speech. On that occasion I referred to BOB TAFT as Mr. Integrity. I believe the term is a very appropriate one, and it fits so well today with the sentiment which has pervaded this Chamber for some time, and which will be manifested everywhere throughout the country. There must have been a shaken faith, a darkness must have come upon the waters when the figure of the great Senator from Ohio lay still and his voice was silent. It was striking testimony to the character of the man that there should have been whisperings for days that his passing would be a tragedy. What has happened does test the faith of the people, I am sure; yet we find comfort and consolation in the fact that in BOB TAFT once more was demonstrated the ennobling influence of character in the whole governmental scheme of things.

There must necessarily come to mind the old line from the Scripture:

> Weeping may endure for a night, but joy cometh in the morning.

That appeals to me, because dissolution is not important. We shall not remember the 31st day of July 1953, when we

think of the Senator from Ohio. Rather we shall think of the 8th day of September, which was the date when he was born. We seldom think of death anniversaries for a very good reason. It is not at all important. Very few people can tell when Abraham Lincoln died, but hosts can tell when he was born. Very few people can remember the date of the death of George Washington, but they do remember the day on which he came into this world. That is important, because it is then that a life has been conceived and projected and sent forth to have its impact upon mankind. It is when an institution, an agency, a life, an idea has been conceived, has been formulated, and made to have an impact upon the welfare of mankind, that is important.

I do not regard the passing of our friend as a tragedy. After all, it is in the providential scheme of things. But I believe the people of the United States of America remember September 8, rather than July 31, because, on that day there came into this world one who, because of exalted character and other noble attributes which appeal to people in all walks of life, found a great station in the public life of this country, and endeared himself, as the majority leader has said, not merely as a great Republican, but as Mr. Integrity.

Let us rejoice and be glad that Bob Taft lived. Let us rejoice and be glad that he had an opportunity, following in the paths of faith, to come to the Senate, demonstrate qualities of magnificient intellect, and make an indelible and abiding impress upon the affairs of his country.

Mr. President, some years ago I flew over Greece, and I had the opportunity to look down upon a little town called Ephesus. There came to my mind the fact that it was to the people of this little town the Great Apostle, the great sales manager of Christianity, one of the greatest men who ever lived, addressed some of his letters, which are so intriguing and so stimulating. Only within the past few days, in a little magazine that came to my desk, I saw this portion

of the letters that were written by Paul to the Ephesians centuries ago:

Wherefore take unto you the whole armour of God, that ye may be able to withstand in the evil day, and having done all, to stand.

What a wonderful sentiment, particularly in the administrative and governmental life of our country, for how easy it is ofttimes to quail and falter in the face of challenges and responsibilities.

That was not BOB TAFT. He had put on the whole armour of righteousness, and when he had exhausted every course and every possibility in connection with his chores and responsibilities, he took his stand:

Having done all, to stand.

I can think of no greater sentiment, as I recall what BOB TAFT has contributed to the life of the country.

Paul further said to the Ephesians:

Stand therefore, having your loins girt about with truth, and having on the breastplate of righteousness.

There is reason for sorrow in the Nation today. People did feel BOB TAFT was Mr. Integrity. They did feel that he embraced truth. They did feel that he stood upon the solid rock of righteousness. That is what endeared him to people in all walks of life everywhere.

It was my pleasure in 1952 to campaign in his behalf in probably 20 States of the Union. What a great experience and what an enriching adventure it was to have simple people—miners in New Mexico, people in industrial centers of my own State, farmers in Nebraska and in Indiana and in Ohio and elsewhere—come up and pledge and repledge their faith in BOB TAFT. What did it mean? It was a pledge to the truth he epitomized. It was a pledge to his righteousness. It was a pledge to his character. Those are the most noble encomiums that can come to anyone.

And your feet shod with the preparation of the gospel of peace. Above all, taking the shield of faith, wherewith ye shall be able

to quench all the fiery darts of the wicked. And take the helmet of salvation, and the sword of the spirit, which is the word of God.

That, to me, represents BOB TAFT; and I shall think of him often as I think of the line—

And having done all, to stand.

Mr. President, I must amplify that by referring to one experience I have had in this Chamber. I remember when we had a controversy last year about the number of housing units to be provided for, and when I was making a vigorous endeavor to reduce the number, because I was convinced that should be done. I was wholly unaware that the great Senator from Ohio was then in the Chamber. When I finished my rather feeble endeavor to persuade the Senate to follow the course of action I recommended, BOB TAFT stood up very suddenly and, as if he had never known me, began to assail everything I had said, and began to take apart my argument, piece by piece. You see, Mr. President, he never permitted the element of personality to enter into his considerations when conviction and principle were involved.

I think every Member of this body will agree that he always pursued that principle. He stood upon the rock of truth. Yea, indeed, the country—one might say the world—has lost a great servant.

So today we do honor to him; and as we do, and as we refresh our faith, we shall say over and over, thank God that Providence permitted him to come when he did, and to march resolutely upon a course that has had so great an impact upon the thinking and the course of the United States of America.

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, it was my privilege to come to the Senate in 1939 with BOB TAFT and four other Republican Members of the Senate. Just the other day, Charles Tobey, one of the six, passed on. Today BOB TAFT has left us.

Through the years, BOB TAFT'S home was always a warm place for Mrs. Wiley and myself.

Now he has gone on the journey we all shall take.

Mr. President, I like the sentiments just expressed by the distinguished Senator from Illinois [Mr. Dirksen]. I would supplement them by saying that although death is a mystery, it is nothing to fear. Man is a thing of the spirit. Life alone has substance and continuity.

Death is only an old door
Set in a garden wall;
On gentle hinges it gives, at dusk
When the thrushes call.

Along the lintel are green leaves,
Beyond the light lies still;
Very willing and weary feet
Go over that sill.

There is nothing to trouble any heart;
Nothing to hurt at all.
Death is only a quiet door
In an old wall.

I think BOB TAFT knows that now. I think these sentiments will be helpful to Martha and to their fine family.

If life were simply a little span here, it would have no meaning. Life has continuity, this is but a kindergarten course.

As has been so dynamically expressed here today, the spirit of BOB TAFT will continue to influence the lives of all of us who knew him, and the actions of all of us, I am sure, for the betterment of our country. His loss will be regarded as one of the saddest which our country has experienced in recent years.

He was a great man. In many respects, he was a much misunderstood man. He had a fine sense of humor, and his smile was one the finest one could see. Many persons thought he was cold, but actually he was warm. Anyone who came close to him felt the warmth of his personality.

I need not speak of his intellect; all who knew him realized it was of the highest.

Now, in the prime of life, he has passed from this mortal stage. His passing will be mourned by every American,

regardless of political party. Indeed, Mr. President, those who fought BOB TAFT the hardest will be among those who will feel his loss the most keenly, for in the many battles in which he engaged, he always fought for what was right.

The Nation needed him—and needs him now—because of his integrity, his honesty, and because he was the chief lieutenant, here on Capitol Hill, of the President of the United States.

Because of his wide knowledge, BOB TAFT was respected by all Americans.

When the Senator from Illinois mentioned the Republican convention and his speech nominating BOB TAFT, I recalled that BOB'S greatness was exemplified when, following the nomination of General Eisenhower, they met, and BOB congratulated him, and then pledged his support. What is more, Mr. President, BOB kept that pledge; he went all the way. That was BOB TAFT. He kept his word; he kept faith.

I have served with him since 1939. Side by side we fought to prevent American intervention in World War II. Side by side, when Pearl Harbor came, we urged America to recognize the new situation in world affairs. BOB TAFT recognized that the world had turned a corner. He supported the Mutual Security Administration and other foreign relations programs. He recognized that the world had been made smaller by the ingenuity of man, and that we were not living unto ourselves. He knew that world conditions had changed, and he changed as they did.

Since then he has contributed a great many constructive efforts to our foreign policy, while always reserving the right to give his frank and realistic appraisal to any situation we confronted.

In labor affairs, the statute which bears his name and that of Fred Hartley is one of the great memorials to his public service.

His imprint can be found on virtually every major bill the Republican Party approved in the 80th Congress, and on

virtually every major bill the Republican Party has approved in this session, prior to his illness. His imprint may be found on many amendments sponsored by the Republican Party during his 14 years of service in the Senate.

Early in June I wrote to him, expressing my best wishes for his early return to health. I told him how much the Nation and the Republican Party needed him, and that, despite all sorts of rumors in the press and on the Hill about differences between him and the executive branch I knew he would continue to work for unity.

Let me read his reply:

DEAR ALEX: I have already thanked you for your letter of June 5, and this is only a followup to say that I think you have conducted affairs in the Foreign Relations Committee to maintain harmony, and I believe we can end up the session without any of the "breaks" which some of the newspapers had been predicting.

And then he added:

Martha joins me in kindest regards to Mrs. Wiley and yourself.

He has gone on a journey that all of us must take. I am sure his message to us is, "Keep your chin up. Keep the faith. Do not sell America short. Go on with the job you face."

To his dear wife and his family, I join with everyone in the Nation in conveying to them heartfelt sympathy. I know that they, too, will carry on.

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. Mr. President, because of many years of intimate association with BOB TAFT on a personal basis, it is very difficult for me to speak at all on this occasion.

We were closely associated in World War I, working together with Mr. Hoover's Food Administration, when the problems of the First World War were upon us.

It was a great pleasure for me to come to the Senate some years ago when BOB was here, and to associate closely with him once again. Had I the time, I could recount many revealing incidents which my colleagues would be glad to hear.

I shall limit myself to but one example now. I think it was typical of Bob Taft's whole being and character.

I saw Bob on the day of the nomination in Chicago, after he had been defeated. He knew that I had supported his opponent. That meant nothing to him. Our friendship remained the same. On that occasion he said to me, "How best can I support our party in this coming contest?" It so happened that Bob and his family usually went to Murray Bay, Canada, in the summer, where my wife and I also went. There, we came to know his family intimately. Last summer after the convention we both went to Murray Bay. I saw Bob on the golf links. He was a real player, I was an amateur; but we played together a good deal. On one occasion he said to me, "Can you come around tomorrow afternoon? I have something I want to talk to you about." I went to his house. He told me that he was trying to decide just what was the most effective way that he, who had been the opponent of General Eisenhower in the recent convention, could support the party of his loyalty, and what would be the best time to demonstrate his support. He told me of the hundreds of letters he was receiving from all over the United States. He took me to a room where those letters were lying in three main piles. He said, "I am just showing you these, because I want to show you what people are thinking. One pile says, 'You have led a great fight; stay with it; do not support this administration.' Some of the letters suggest that I should start another party. The second pile says, 'Do not do anything active; simply do not do anything in any way to show that you are supporting the administration; just let things ride.' "

The third pile was from those of whom he said, "These are my real friends, who are challenging me, as I am happy to have them challenge me, to take my part in this contest, now, especially since I have met defeat; and I am frank to say that my ambition to be President of the United States has been the great ambition of my life." He further said, "I need not

tell you that the third pile is the advice I am going to follow through to the end; I am just thinking, and let us talk it through, how I can best express my position toward the candidate for President, General Eisenhower, and how best I can help my country at this time of crisis; and, when after the election, how I can best help the new President and all the people of the country, Democrats and Republicans alike."

He took occasion to pay a great tribute to his colleagues on the left side of the aisle in the Senate. BOB TAFT was for his party. He worked for his party. He was a great leader of his party. But he never forgot—I repeat, he never forgot—that America came first. When the Senator from Illinois [Mr. Dirksen] used the expression—I heard him at the convention—"Mr. Republican, Mr. America, and Mr. Integrity," we had there the best characterization that I have heard of this great soul who has passed from us.

Mr. President, my wife and I extend to our dear friend Martha Taft and the entire wonderful family our heartfelt affectionate sympathies.

Mr. MAYBANK. Mr. President, words are inadequate for me to pay tribute to a friend and a great American. I may only say that I knew BOB TAFT for a long, long time. Our families have been friends and tied together for generations. To me, his passing is a personal loss. But I should like to say to the people of America, particularly those who longed for and sought adequate housing—if I may refer to that, since I served on the Senate Committee on Banking and Currency with this distinguished American, beginning in 1941—that they owe him a debt of gratitude for what he did.

If I may be personal, I desire to add that the last time I saw him, I walked over to the Republican cloakroom to consult my dear friend, Homer Capehart. BOB TAFT said to me, "Burnet, I wish you were in here more often." I replied, "BOB, you do not have to worry about where I stand and where I shall always stand." I said, "You made a great many things

easier for me"—as he did, having in mind his position, his counsel, and his knowledge of governmental affairs.

I am glad to have been one who supported some of the programs which have helped to make America great, programs which were initiated by BOB TAFT.

Mr. WELKER. Mr. President, because of the fact that, for the next few days, I shall necessarily be absent from the Senate, by reason of illness in my family, I desire at this time to offer a few remarks, and to say farewell to BOB TAFT.

BOB TAFT knew how I loved and admired him; and I knew that he thought kindly of me. As I came to the United States Senate as a young man, ignorant of the procedure and ways of this body, he was truly kind and sincere in helping me, as he helped all other new Senators, to find a way to be helpful to our country in this body.

BOB TAFT was a great sportsman. He loved to play rough, and he loved to play fair. Without prepared remarks, I may say I think one of the greatest tributes I could pay to BOB TAFT is that he was thoughtful of the little men—the little men who worked for him in this body. The Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. Martin], the Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. Bridges], and I are on a committee called the patronage committee for the majority, which has to do with the placement of employees in the Senate. BOB TAFT was never too busy—I repeat, never too busy—to ask for and to seek help for the men who work as doorkeepers, who run the elevators, and who perform other services in connection with the work of the Senate.

Yes, BOB TAFT will now be in comfort and happiness. But I am wondering about the future of this country; for we have lost a great leader. As I said in a speech on the floor of the Senate a few minutes before his death, I classed him as truly one of the greatest statesmen of all time. He truly loved life, and he adored his family. All who knew him could not fail to be inspired by those two great traits of this

profound leader and friend. He could be sad and distressed though he seemed cheerful. It seemed that his prime purpose was to put the welfare of his country always first, never last.

In the quiet moments of the months and years that lie ahead, when we are wondering about the future of this body and of the country, I am sure we may rely upon the words of Jesus, when he said, "Come unto Me, all ye that labor and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest."

Mr. President, this statement has never been related before, but I think it will disclose to my colleagues and the people of America what a great man we have lost in BOB TAFT. Just a few days ago I was informed from the most confidential and reliable sources that Senator TAFT knew that his days on earth were limited. He called to his bedside one of the great men of America, one of his closest friends, and discussed with him his illness. Note this, my colleagues, because I think it was so typical of him. BOB TAFT said, "Yes, I know I am going to die, but I pray the Lord will spare me because Ike needs me so."

What a wonderful tribute to that great man that those were among the last words he uttered. In the trying times of this Nation, in the trying times of the world, it was typical of him that he would be thinking first of his country and of the President, and wanting the Lord to grant him time in which he could help our President—what a sweet, splendid gesture on the part of our colleague who wanted to help his country.

I need not go on, Mr. President. Great speeches will be made here about our departed colleague, but in saying goodbye to BOB TAFT, I grieve that I have lost a friend and the country has lost a great leader. I say, as I bid him farewell, "Goodbye good and trusted servant—you have finished your great work. Certainly our Nation and the world have gained new luster from your life."

Mr. YOUNG. Mr. President, I should like to add a few words of tribute, inadequate as they may be, to one of the greatest men in American history, Senator ROBERT TAFT. He was one of the most intelligent men I have ever known. He was an able man, a man who used excellent judgment at all times. He was an honest, an honorable man. But, above all, Mr. President, he was a Christian who lived a truly Christian life. He was a very kindly person and never held any ill will toward any one. I shall always treasure my associations with him. We shall miss him tremendously.

I extend my deepest sympathy to an equally great American, Mrs. Taft, and to her four distinguished sons.

Mr. THYE. Mr. President, the Members of the Senate have lost a great leader in the death of ROBERT A. TAFT. The Nation has lost a magnificent public servant. Legislatively speaking, BOB TAFT was like a great white oak tree, fine in fiber and with great strength.

I can only say to those who remain in the Senate that I pray God that we have the wisdom to carry on, and give this Nation a leadership equal to that which it has lost through the death of ROBERT A. TAFT.

Mrs. Taft was a Minnesota girl. We were always proud that we shared with her our interest in the great Taft family. I can only wish for her strength in order that she may carry on in this hour of bereavement.

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. President, in the passing of BOB TAFT the great American eagle has fallen from the canopy of heaven which covers this world.

I desire to associate myself with the expressions of sympathy to his fine family, our dear friend Martha, and the Taft children.

BOB TAFT was one of those men for whom eulogies are both unnecessary and meaningless. He was the epitome of character and courage. The best measure of a man is that which he attains and is able to maintain in his own home.

I recall vividly that during the last campaign, when I was on the campaign train going through Ohio, BOB TAFT stood out on the back platform of the train with some of his colleagues and with the candidate for President, Ike Eisenhower. I saw the tremendous outpouring of sentiment and friendship and respect that came from the multitudes in the Buckeye State who had come to hear a message from the campaign train. There were expressions of confidence, expressions of friendship, expressions which we who knew him can easily understand and easily appreciate. The elements of character, courage, and integrity were so definitely a part of the man that anyone who knew him must have recognized them in him.

He was the same whether in defeat or in victory. He was always fair, always honest, always courageous. I remember standing with him late one night, about a year ago, at the ticker, as many of us do at times, when the returns were coming in from the presidential primary in South Dakota. It was a very close contest. At one moment he would be a thousand votes ahead, and then a thousand votes behind. He was most calm about it, realizing, as he did, what it meant to him because of the future opportunity it would give him to be of service to his country. Never was there a statement of regret or remorse or recrimination.

In all my experience with BOB TAFT I have never heard him say a mean or an unfair thing. He has been in as many fights, I suppose, as have any other two Members of the Senate. He was a positive man, a man of principle, a man of definite and persevering opinion.

During the campaign it was my responsibility to serve as co-chairman of the National Republican Committee in connection with getting campaign speakers. I suppose I communicated with BOB TAFT hundreds of times to ask for someone to speak for a candidate for the Senate or for the House of Representatives in the Eisenhower campaign. He never turned down a request. There was no question of his

following the suggestion in the letters from his real friends to which the Senator from New Jersey [Mr. Smith] referred. They expected and knew he would be in harness working for the principles of the party in which he believed. It was a perfect marvel to me that there was never any holding back, never any reluctance. Once he had convinced himself by the process of reasoning, of which his fine mentality made him so capable, that a certain course of action was right, he went straight down the road to its accomplishment.

Indeed, Mr. President, the world is going to be poorer because of the passing of BOB TAFT. Yet it is richer, too, because he has placed before us an example and a demonstration of how men of controversy, if they are men of character, can gain and hold the affection of people everywhere.

To Martha and the family our sympathies go out, but in a spirit of gratitude that Bob was with us awhile and that from his life and character we can all learn something that will make us better able to serve in the troublous times at hand.

Mr. JENNER. Mr. President, I rise to pay respect to the memory of my friend and neighbor, BOB TAFT. My State was neighbor to his, to the west. The people of Indiana loved BOB TAFT, because the people of Indiana knew BOB TAFT.

His death is too tragic for words. Never has a great man seemed to be greater than did Senator TAFT in the last year of his life, when, as leader of the Senate, he gave each of us new faith in human goodness.

Senator TAFT inherited a famous name. The life of his father, President William Howard Taft, was dedicated to the highest principles of American law, American liberty, and American generosity of spirit. Senator TAFT has in every way been well worthy of that great example.

He had perhaps the harder task of preserving American ideals in a time of confusion and guile. His passing is the end of a generation. I do not know when we shall see his like again.

Mr. FERGUSON. Mr. President, a powerful voice for good has been stilled in the world. BOB TAFT was a fine and true friend. His passing is a personal loss to me. The Nation and the world have suffered an immeasurable loss, but I know that his courage, his action in always placing his Nation above his personal interests will give all Members of the Senate and the people of the United States the feeling that, while his voice is stilled, his spirit will go on. His devotion to the Nation is an inspiration for each and every Member to exert greater effort, as he would have us do. We have lost him as the leader on this side of the aisle; yet he would have us carry on as if he were here.

While we send to his family our expressions of sympathy, I know they will feel that the work BOB TAFT has done in the past will live on. If we will but take encouragement from his life of service we will exert ourselves to make the world a better place in which to live.

Mr. HICKENLOOPER. Mr. President, while we have all known for several days that the end was inevitable for BOB TAFT, yet the knowledge and preparation we have had for the sad happening cannot in any way alleviate the keen sorrow which comes when the event has occurred, and he has passed on. Today I cannot speak at length about BOB TAFT, because his death is a great shock to me, as I know it will be a shock to the Nation as a whole.

I have known him for a good many years. It has been only in the past 9 years that I have had intimate acquaintance with him, and I could fully appreciate the masterful qualities of his intellect and see demonstrated by actual test his courage and honesty in public affairs, and in private decisions. I can illustrate the quality of his honesty and courage by something that happened about 3 or 4 years ago.

The late Senator Arthur Vandenberg had a seat immediately in front of mine. Senator Vandenberg and Senator TAFT were not exactly on the same side of a particular issue

in which feeling was extremely intense, and which had precipitated a violent controversy in the Nation. They were not completely opposed to each other, but they were not seeing eye to eye. Bob Taft took the floor to speak because of his deep conviction that what might be done would be fundamentally wrong for the basic welfare of the United States. In that particular controversy the position taken by Bob Taft, the side of the question he espoused, was considered by everyone to be political suicide for anyone, especially in the State of Ohio.

After a powerful and courageous speech, Bob Taft sat down. Senator Vandenberg turned around and said, over the front of my desk, "There is one of America's great men. The utter steel-like courage and complete honesty of a man who, in the public interest, will take what may be his political life in his hands today, and commit what may be political suicide by the position he has taken, should call for the admiration of every American citizen who values his heritage as an American—freedom of expression and freedom of position on political questions." And it was an invitation to political suicide. At that time the result seemed almost certain.

Mr, President, while Bob Taft has physically left the Senate, we shall not be without his stimulus or his voice, because there is not, there will not, and there cannot be any final requiem for Bob Taft. He will not become a part of the past. He is one of the few men in the history of the United States whose stature will grow year by year, decade by decade, and generation by generation, as the magnificent service he rendered and the record of his performance in the interest of his country, his fairness, his courage, his honesty, are examined into by historians and others who will come after us.

I believe it was Stanton who said, when Abraham Lincoln died: "Now he belongs to the ages." I think that can apply to Bob Taft today: Now he belongs to the ages. The genera-

tions of tomorrow will march along the line of American freedom and human dignity, because their steps will be guided by the lights which BOB TAFT kindled in his public capacity, during the long period of his service to his country. We mourn him today; but America is safer, freedom more secure, and human progress more advanced because of his stewardship and leadership during the generation in which he has been so prominent.

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. Mr. President, we are too close to the event for me to express the great personal loss I feel and the deep affection in which I held our colleague.

In March of 1952 I made a political speech in Denver at a Jackson-Jefferson Day dinner. One of my political friends said to me, "I am disappointed in your talk. You should have lambasted ROBERT TAFT." At that time Senator TAFT seemed to have the nomination for the Presidency within his grasp. I said to my friend, "I could not do that. You see, I know BOB TAFT." He saw how deeply I felt, and he walked away.

I have spent a great many years in public life. It is my sincere belief that courage is the greatest attribute that anyone in public life can have. As has been said here many times today, BOB TAFT had that attribute to a greater extent than most men. He had as much courage as any human being I have ever known. I sincerely hope and believe that because of the example of bravery he has shown on this floor and in his public life generally, every Member of this body has been strengthened, and that in turn we may show greater fortitude.

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, my sorrow at the passing of my dear friend, BOB TAFT, is so profound that I cannot adequately express it.

My friendship for BOB TAFT has been one of the greatest inspirations of my life. I regard him as one of the greatest of Americans. I regard his death as a national tragedy.

I had been closely associated with him in the Senate for 14 years. I have profited time and time again by his great wisdom, and I have observed his high courage.

As long as I live, the memory will remain with me of a visit which I made with Senator TAFT to the plantation of Hon. Bernard Baruch in South Carolina last December. BOB TAFT had never fired a shotgun. We were hunting quail. The first day he shot four quail on the wing, and four more on the second day. He got the greatest enjoyment out of it. Those 4 days I spent in close association with him will abide in my memory and I will frequently recall our discussions.

I will not say more now except to express the thought that this Nation will miss BOB TAFT in more ways than any of us realize. His friends and associates will miss him. The Republican Party will miss him. The American people will miss him. He will go down in history, I predict, as one of the greatest of all Americans, and his high concepts of public duty will be an inspiration to all future generations.

Mr. KEFAUVER. Mr. President, Senator TAFT was truly one of the great Americans of this time. I know that many of us on both sides of the aisle disagreed at times with his position and his philosophy. But we all respected him. There was no man in the Senate whom I respected more highly than I did BOB TAFT.

Senator TAFT was a big man. I think the fact that he was able to take defeat on several occasions, and always came back with courage and determination to carry on and cooperate for the welfare of his country was one of the marks of greatness in his life.

Senator TAFT was the runner-up for the Republican nomination in 1940. As I recall, in 1944, while he might have had the nomination or might have come close to winning it, he stepped aside for his friend and colleague, the Senator from Ohio [Mr. Bricker], who at that time was Governor of the State of Ohio. He suffered disappointment again in 1948,

and in 1952. A lesser man might have been embittered. A lesser man might have given up. A lesser man might have carried with him prejudices which would have marred his public and political career, but not Senator TAFT.

The fact that after the nomination of President Eisenhower Senator TAFT was willing to work for General Eisenhower's election with full devotion, without reservation, and that after his election he was willing to furnish leadership to the new administration, was one mark of a lofty character.

Last year Senator TAFT was campaigning vigorously for the Republican nomination, and it appeared that he would win. I had the privilege of seeing him when I was on a similar mission in New Hampshire. Our paths crossed also in South Dakota and California. We were advocating different philosophies in many respects, but there was never anything personal about our differences. They always represented a difference of viewpoint.

I admired and respected the vigorous manner in which he campaigned for the Republican nomination. After the conventions were over I received a telegram which I shall always prize, and which I think illustrates a quality to which the Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. WILEY] has referred. Senator TAFT had a keen sense of humor. The telegram which he sent to me said:

> It seems that you and I will be seeing each other again in the Senate, and I shall look forward to the association.
>
> BOB.

I immediately telegraphed him that I would also look forward to the association, which I did.

Senator TAFT's place will be difficult to fill. He furnished a leadership to the majority of the Senate at a time of great crisis. I know that his courage, his unswerving high principles, and his faith in his country will always be an inspiration to those of us who remain.

Mr. SALTONSTALL. Mr. President, as one who has worked under BOB TAFT in the Senate and as one who has known him over the years, I wish to add my word of tribute and my word of sympathy to his family.

My first acquaintance with BOB TAFT came when we were students at Harvard. At that time I knew him slightly, but his reputation for intellectual capacity and knowledge of the law, and his leadership on the Harvard Law Review at that time were well known in Cambridge.

When I became a Member of the Senate I was always impressed by his knowledge of the facts of a situation. I can best express my feelings when I say that when I found myself on the side on which BOB TAFT was going to vote I felt more confident of my position and had a great feeling of satisfaction. When I found myself on the opposite side, I pondered greatly to make certain that I was right from my point of view in the position I was taking.

His knowledge of facts in a given case and his statements as to the facts were always impressive. This knowledge came from his studiousness, his energy, his intellectual capacity, and his desire to know all he could about all the important issues that face the Nation.

No man alive knew more about our Government than did BOB TAFT.

His passing represents an irreparable loss.

In the many conversations I had with him in his office—some of them difficult and some of them less complicated—he was always frank. One always knew where BOB TAFT stood, and that was why we all respected him and admired him and liked him so much.

I have known his wife and I have known his family. To them I extend my deepest sympathy.

He loved his family. I believe one of the remarks I made to him that gave him the most pleasure was my telling him about his son, who now is Ambassador to Ireland, in connection with a great banquet in Boston. His son at that time

made a speech which was full of humor, full of knowledge, and full of hope as to what he expected to do. It pleased the great body of Irish-loving people at the banquet where he was the guest of honor. I remember BOB TAFT'S face when I told him of this incident, and he said to me that he told Mrs. Taft about it in her illness.

We shall sorely miss him.

Mr. MONRONEY. Mr. President, it is with a deep sense of loss that I join my colleagues in expressing my great sorrow at the passing of a very distinguished American leader.

Around the world, where the lights of freedom and liberty have gone out and totalitarianism has taken over, the first signs of decay and disintegration have appeared in the parliamentary or legislative systems. Here, in spite of difficult times, in part because of the great intellect of ROBERT A. TAFT, the American legislative system not only has survived, but has become stronger.

I like to think of the stature of this distinguished leader as being as great as that of any man who has ever served in this Chamber. His stature matches that of any of the great of past history who served in the United States Senate.

I have sat in conference and worked out difficult bills with him, into the early hours of the morning, and I have seen Senator TAFT lose his point on an issue he was advocating. When the vote was taken, and he recognized that he had lost the point, he devoted his great intellect and his wonderful legal mind to helping those who had won the point, to help put the bill in such satisfactory condition that it would be effective.

He helped develop to the best possible degree our wonderful two-party system, by means of which we are able to express our views in the truly American tradition. Thus we are able to set forth our convictions and our principles. The legislative branch of the Government is stronger today because of the great help BOB TAFT gave to it.

He was truly a great sportsman in the legislative field.

He was a good man, a religious man, a courageous man, a man of great justice and honor.

Because of his life, freedom in America, under our great legislative system, is safe today.

Mr. CASE. Mr. President, as I have listened here today to the eloquent and moving tributes that have been paid to ROBERT TAFT, of Ohio, I feel the inadequacy of any words of mine to add to what has been said or even to express the high respect which I shall always have for him.

My first close association with BOB TAFT came in the spring of 1946, when I was in the House of Representatives but came over here to meet with him and the great Senator from Virginia [Mr. Byrd] and other Senators, to work on Senate amendments to a bill relating to labor legislation, which I had sponsored in the House of Representatives. That was really my first close contact with Senator TAFT. The respect I developed at that time for his intellect and his ability to reach the heart of an issue was so great that I have never gotten out from under the spell of it.

During the relatively short time I have been in the Senate, I have been privileged to be associated with him on other legislation, and that respect for him only deepened. When we worked on the plan for the reorganization of committees early this year, I was impressed by his readiness to modify the old ideas of seniority, if necessary, in order to make the best possible use of the talents of all Members of the Senate, new and old. And, with all, his active, penetrating mind constantly went at once to the center of any problem. And, although he always was most cordial and friendly to me, I must say that personally I have never been able to cast aside the initial hero worship I developed for him.

He had a special ability in debate to pursue a point with such relentless logic that it seemed that his very assertion demonstrated the accuracy of his argument.

As I have been sitting here, I thought that perhaps this was the time when it could be appropriately said, as of Lincoln, that when he went, a lonely space was left against the sky. That is true, but that does not quite express what I want to say about BOB TAFT. I would rather think of him today as walking forever toward the western sun, and leaving a growing shadow behind him. The shadow will lengthen as he walks toward the sunlight; the lengthening shadow will forever beckon America on.

Mr. HENDRICKSON. Mr. President, those of us who have had the privilege of associating with the great Senator from Ohio, BOB TAFT, must, because of that experience, be better people, better Christians, better Americans, and better Senators.

Since BOB TAFT's early days in the Senate of the United States, I have had great admiration for him. In those days when I read of his accomplishments and attainments here, little did I think that I would ever have the high privilege of sitting in this Chamber with him and participating in the great work in which he was engaged.

After I came to the Senate, Mr. President, I felt much as does the Senator from South Dakota; I felt that I was not on the same level at all with his great mind, his brilliant intellect.

Last year, in the campaign following the national convention in Chicago I came to know him well. When he campaigned in the State of New Jersey, where he carried on his brilliant and vigorous fight for President Eisenhower, we toured the State going from meeting to meeting together. I could not help but admire the courage and stamina of this great American, nor could I help admire his vitality. After each meeting it seemed as if he were just fresh from a good night's rest. The fight he made in New Jersey for the then candidate for the Presidency, now President Eisenhower, was one which I shall never forget. He was utterly unselfish. He

put all personal interests behind him. He made an outstanding fight for a great American who had been nominated for the Presidency. No more sincere campaign was ever made for a candidate for the Presidency.

This year, after Senator TAFT became our leader in the Senate, I came to know him even better. I like to think that he came to rely upon me somewhat for certain services I could perform for him; and we then became really close friends.

Since his illness, I have felt the strain that all Senators have felt. I think that in recent days all of us suspected that his illness would be fatal. Notwithstanding this, Mr. President, the shock today is a terrible one to the Senate, to the Nation, and to the world.

I say with all the sincerity I possess, that I have never known a public servant, at any level of government, anywhere in the world, who possessed to so high a degree that outstanding quality of intellectual honesty and integrity that was so much a part of the life of BOB TAFT.

In his passing, his rare intellect, integrity, companionship, and leadership will be sorely missed.

Mr. President, I remember how devoted BOB TAFT was to his lovely wife, Martha, how kind and considerate he was, and how, throughout her illness, he always thought of her well-being. A great American, a magnificent statesman and an inspiring leader has gone to his justly earned rest. Although he is physically no longer in our midst, the memory and spirit of BOB TAFT will remain with us here and serve as an inspiration to each of us in the Senate as we endeavor to ever more faithfully carry out our duties.

Mr. President, I know that Mrs. Hendrickson joins me as I say today from this floor that we want the members of BOB TAFT's lovely family to know that they have the deepest sympathy of the Hendricksons.

Mr. MARTIN. Mr. President, beautiful and eloquent tributes have been paid to BOB TAFT in the Senate today. I am fully in accord with all of them. I have known BOB TAFT over a long number of years. I have always thought that, although he never wore the uniform, he possessed the elements of an outstanding soldier. BOB TAFT pursued as a real soldier all the principles he espoused. He first considered all the arguments favorable to those who were in opposition to him and then the arguments favorable to the position of those who were in accord with him; he gathered all the information available, and then made an estimate of the situation. After he had made a proper estimate, he reached a decision. After the decision was made, he marched forward, always to attain his objective.

Mr. President, I have not always been in full accord with Senator TAFT, but I have always respected his sound judgment and his stalwart Americanism. The last time I saw him on the Senate floor, he entered the Chamber on crutches. He reminded me of many great soldiers of this Nation who, because they felt it their duty, have gone into battle when they were physically handicapped.

Senator TAFT was an outstanding leader. He had a fine understanding of America and of all that America means, not only to Americans but to the people of all the world. He answered the call as so many soldiers have answered it, in the line of duty. He was facing the front.

America has lost a great and devoted leader. We have lost a fine and unforgettable associate.

Mrs. Martin and I extend to Martha Taft and her fine family our sympathy, and express the hope that they may derive some consolation from a realization of the fact that BOB TAFT was a fine Christian and an outstanding American.

Mr. McCARTHY. Mr. President, to the grand eulogies which have been heard here today, I would merely add that the greatest man I have ever known died today. Were BOB

TAFT on the Senate floor, he might well rise to say, "I have fought a good fight, I have finished my course, I have kept the faith."

Mr. ANDERSON. Mr. President, I was not one of those who had known the great Senator from Ohio as intimately as had many of my colleagues, but it was my fortune to testify on 1 or 2 occasions before Senate committees of which he was a member. I was surprised at the tolerance he displayed on those occasions, at the kindness with which he endeavored to help the representative of an administration identified with a party other than his own. It was as a result of that experience that I formed a wholly new appreciation of his character and his talents. I had many times heard of him as a great leader of his party, but I think I understood the comment better after I had had the privilege of having him examine me as I stood before him in committee, and realized how much real kindness there was to his nature.

Since that occasion I have had in this body many, many opportunities to judge his true worth. I think it could be said that one of his greatest political handicaps was his complete honesty. When asked a question, though he knew that the wise thing to do was to refuse to answer or to evade the question, he would blurt out the truth, and express his real feelings. I have seen that characteristic hurt him politically on many occasions; but it did not hurt him in the standing he had in this body, nor did it hurt him in the standing he had with the American people.

Mr. President, a great American has gone, one of the greatest Americans it has been my privilege to know. The Senate will miss him deeply. I regret extremely his untimely death.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, I wish to join my colleagues in the Senate in saying a brief word to express the grief we in the Senate feel today, a grief, I am sure, which is shared by the whole Nation.

It has been my privilege and pleasure since being in the Senate to serve on two different committees with Senator TAFT. One of them was the Joint Committee on the Economic Report, during the 80th Congress, when he was chairman of that committee, and I served under his chairmanship. At the beginning of the present session, Senator TAFT came to the Foreign Relations Committee as a member, and I had the pleasure of serving with him on that committee. I came to respect the man greatly, to admire his great industry, his stamina, his intellectual honesty, and his absolute integrity. When he believed in something, he was a tireless worker for it.

Mr. President, I think we are sometimes likely to forget the tremendous impact which Senator TAFT has had upon some of the finest social legislation that is on the statue books today. The overall housing program we have will always stand as a great monument to BOB TAFT, along with two other Senators who joined him in sponsoring the original program. No one worked harder than did BOB TAFT to develop the idea, the conception of housing, and the part it would play in American communities and American lives.

I can see him now as he would come before the Banking and Currency Committee and explain not merely what the bill itself sought to do, but the philosophy back of it. No one was more helpful than was BOB TAFT in securing the enactment of legislation with reference to hospital construction, health clinics, and medical centers. He rendered valient service in connection with what became the Hill-Burton Act, and in all the various programs relating to aid to public-health systems in States and counties throughout the country in providing research in health matters.

He was one of the sponsors of Federal aid to education and helped tremendously to get that legislation through the Senate, although it never completed its course through the Congress. I could name various other laws on the statute books, involving great social advances which he helped to bring about.

My colleague, the senior Senator from Alabama [Mr. Hill], has been quite instrumental in that type of legislation, and I recall his telling me one day how easy it was to work with BOB TAFT on legislation of that type. They both served on a committee where legislation of this kind was usually handled, the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare. I remember my colleague telling me that if he was working out a bill, he found the way to do it was to sit down with BOB TAFT and say, "Let us work this out," and invariably they were able to frame legislation, much of which went through the Senate and the House and became the law of the land.

Earlier in the session, when the controversy relating to the confirmation of the nomination of "Chip" Bohlen came up, it may be recalled that Senator TAFT and I were designated by the Foreign Relations Committee to examine the security files in the case. I will recall riding to the State Department in company with Senator TAFT and our conversations going and returning. We talked about many things, but I remember telling him on that occasion that only a few days before that, a newspaper reporter had asked me to comment on BOB TAFT'S leadership in the Senate. I said to BOB TAFT, "I want you to know that I stated that I thought you were doing an excellent job, and I want you to know that I believe that you are."

BOB TAFT did a fine job always. He was a man who was strong in his opinions, but always ready, willing, and eager to support them with logic and reason.

His passing is a great loss, Mr. President, to the Senate, to the legislative processes of this country, and to the Nation as a whole.

Mr. BUSH. Mr. President, having been born in Ohio, although I have lived in Connecticut for 30 years, I have been brought up in the tradition of the Tafts, and I think that more than any other man who has lived in this country, BOB TAFT has been to me the great model of a great statesman and a great political leader.

During my boyhood I knew him as a young man who graduated from Yale at the top of his class, who went to the Harvard Law School and set a new high mark for scholarship at that great institution; who then returned to Ohio, and, after World War I, entered the field of politics. He became Speaker of the House in the Ohio Legislature, rewrote the tax laws of Ohio, and otherwise distinguished himself in Ohio politics and government.

Then he came to the United States Senate, where so much has been stated and so much is known about this great man. Over the years, while Ohio has first claim to him, I think Connecticut has second claim. Those Senators who know the State of Connecticut know the Taft Hotel in New Haven, the Taft School at Watertown founded by BOB TAFT's great-uncle, Horace Taft, BOB TAFT's father, after retiring from the Presidency of the United States, settled in New Haven to be a professor of law at Yale University before he was appointed Chief Justice of the United States. I am sure all Senators know that BOB TAFT has been a trustee of Yale University for many years, and in the past 10 years I have shared that responsibility with him, and through that association have come to know him on a very close basis of personal friendship.

So, Mr. President, while I shall have more extended remarks to make next week, when we may have an opportunity to hold memorial services, I did not want this day to pass without saying, on behalf of the people of my State, that we loved BOB TAFT as much as did the people of his own State.

Mr. MARTIN. Mr. President, as a further mark of respect and honor to the memory of Senator TAFT, I move that the Senate adjourn until tomorrow morning at 10 o'clock.

The motion was unanimously agreed to; and (at 1 o'clock and 57 minutes p. m.) the Senate adjourned until tomorrow, Saturday, August 1, 1953, at 10 o'clock a. m.

ROBERT ALPHONSO TAFT

SATURDAY, *August 1, 1953.*

The Chaplain, Rev. Frederick Brown Harris, D. D., offered the following prayer:

Eternal God, giver of all good and grace—author of everlasting life—we come to Thee today with a startled yearning, in an altered world with a lonesome place against the sky. Thou knowest that upon our spirits is the sadness of farewell, as we think tenderly of a familiar form who will walk with us no more. With gratitude and honor we remember that one whom today the Nation is mourning who so recently stood with reverently bowed head at his place of high leadership in this historic Chamber as at the opening of daily deliberations the blessing and guidance of the source of all wisdom was invoked at this altar of prayer set up from the beginning of the Republic.

As his empty seat is today the symbol of our aching and poignant loss, we are grateful that he who thus stood in prayer also stood here across the valiant years to contend for the things he steadfastly believed to be in the best interest of the Nation he loved.

We give Thee thanks for the transparency of this public servant who was an apostle of honesty in whom was no guile or shadow of duplicity or expediency—who could be counted upon to say what he meant and to mean what he said without fear or favor. To this forum he came not with superficial opinions making a mockery of intelligence but with deep convictions that had cost long and studious hours of investigation as he diligently sought the very roots of vexing problems. We thank Thee in a world shot through with evasion for the robust honesty of this man to whom stubborn consistency was not always a virtue and who was not too proud to change his attitude when some new facet of the total truth came into view. And so today in this national body of which he was so towering a figure we would covet for ourselves that love of America which he exempli-

fied and incarnated—a patriotic passion not dimmed by misunderstanding or disappointment but which sought in all and through all to feed with his utmost strength the perpetual fire of the Nation's life.

And so with heavy hearts on this day of bitter loss we would render thanks, Thou Master of all good workmen, for this servant of Thine and of the Republic in troubled days, ROBERT A. TAFT. And we give him back to Thee with his heart pure and his hands clean, knowing where we shall find him in ampler fields of service and in what company we shall see him when the long night is past and the morning breaks. We ask it in the name of the risen Master of the living dead. Amen.

A message from the House of Representatives, by Mr. Maurer, its reading clerk, communicated to the Senate the resolutions of the House adopted as a tribute to the memory of Hon. ROBERT A. TAFT, late a Senator from the State of Ohio.

Mr. KNOWLAND. Mr. President, I submit a resolution, and ask unanimous consent for its immediate consideration.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The resolution will be read for the information of the Senate.

The resolution (S. Res. 158) was read as follows:

Resolved, That the Secretary invite the Members of the House of Representatives to attend memorial services for the Honorable ROBERT A. TAFT in the rotunda of the Capitol on Monday, August 3, 1953, at 12 o'clock m., and be it further

Resolved, That invitations be extended to the President of the United States and the members of the Cabinet, the Chief Justice and Associate Justices of the Supreme Court of the United States, the Diplomatic Corps (through the Secretary of State), the Chief of Staff of the Army, the Chief of Naval Operations of the Navy, the Chief of Staff of the Air Force, the Major General Commandant of the Marine Corps, and the Commandant of the Coast Guard to attend the memorial services in the rotunda of the Capitol.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection to the present consideration of the resolution?

There being no objection, the resolution was considered, and unanimously agreed to.

Mr. HUNT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to insert in the Record my tribute to the late Senator ROBERT A. TAFT.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

A TRIBUTE TO THE LATE ROBERT A. TAFT, UNITED STATES SENATOR FROM OHIO

With the passing of ROBERT TAFT the entire Nation has suffered the loss of a patriot and we the loss of a friend. He was a man beloved by many and admired and respected by all. By his unstinting devotion to duty and to country he reached heights far above those of us who are his colleagues.

With his exceptionally fine mind he had the ability to view problems objectively and to follow them to their logical conclusion—at times a difficult conclusion but one he faced straight on. His tremendous capacity for hard grueling work made those of us who had the opportunity to serve with him envious of his ability and his stamina.

And above all BOB TAFT was an honorable man, a man of integrity and truth—a man so dedicated to the fundamental principles of democracy that he was fearless in defending them even when he knew it was unpopular and criticism would follow.

In my State of Wyoming BOB TAFT had many, many admirers—many of whom worked hard and fought hard for him in the Republican organization and many of whom might have been bitter had he not himself displayed such remarkable sportsmanship—turning defeat into victory. The strong belief he had in political parties and his intense loyalty to his own party led him to shrug off his personal disappointment and join with vigor in defending his party—such sportsmanship and cooperation has been remarkable to witness. For myself I am sure I will never again be given the opportunity to see such complete subjection of self to principle as we have seen in the past 6 months by this fine and friendly man.

It could well be said of BOB TAFT: "The just man walketh in his integrity; his children are blessed after him."

MONDAY, *August 3, 1953.*

The Chaplain, Rev. Frederick Brown Harris, D. D., offered the following prayer:

Eternal God, we thank Thee that Thou hast set eternity in our hearts, even as we toil in these fields of time. The life beyond this bourne of time and sense seems very near since, in so brief a space, death has suddenly summoned three honored colleagues from the membership of this body. Their familiar forms are with us no more. Their great gifts are no longer at the service of the Nation. Their unexpected passing vividly reminds us that in the midst of life we are in death and that it behooves us to work while it is called day, knowing that soon the night will fall.

From all the illusive shows of sense we turn to the refuge of Thy overshadowing presence, Thou who art our center and our rest, our shelter in the stormy blast, and our eternal home. May Thy servants here in the ministry of public affairs be led to decisions that shall heal the wounds and bridge the gulfs of these embittered days. At the threshold of this day come down Thy secret stair to our deepest needs, as one by one we open our hearts to Thee. Amen.

A message from the House of Representatives, by Mr. Bartlett, one of its clerks, announced that the House had agreed to the following resolution (H. Res. 385):

Resolved, That the House of Representatives accepts the invitation of the Senate to attend memorial services for the Honorable ROBERT A. TAFT in the rotunda of the Capitol on Monday, August 3, 1953, at 12 o'clock noon.

Resolved, That the Clerk communicate these resolutions to the Senate.

Mr. KNOWLAND. Mr. President, I am about to move that the Senate stand adjourned until 1:30 this afternoon. When the Senate adjourns at this time, it will proceed in a body to the rotunda of the Capitol, for the memorial services on the late senior Senator from Ohio, Mr. TAFT.

Mr. President, I now move that the Senate stand adjourned until 1:30 this afternoon.

The motion was agreed to; and (at 11 o'clock and 38 minutes a. m., Monday, August 3, 1953) the Senate adjourned until 1:30 p. m. the same day.

Thereupon, the Senate, preceded by the Vice President, the Secretary (J. Mark Trice), the Sergeant at Arms (Forest A. Harness), proceeded to the rotunda of the Capitol, where the memorial services were held.

The Senate reconvened at 1:30 o'clock p. m.

Mr. ROBERTSON. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the brief remarks I shall now make concerning the establishment of memorial cancer research fellowships to the memory of our departed friend from Ohio, be printed in the Record following the account of the memorial exercises conducted this morning in the rotunda of the Capitol.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. ROBERTSON. It gives me pleasure to endorse the proposal of the Senior Senator from Washington [Mr. Magnuson], that we should earmark funds appropriated for cancer research to establish scholarships to the memory of our departed colleague, Senator ROBERT TAFT of Ohio. If the untimely death of our friend BOB TAFT strikes awake the consciousness of America to the importance of discovering an adequate remedy for cancer and especially a blood test that will disclose cancer in the early stages of the disease, it would be a contribution that might surpass in its benefits to humanity the outstanding work of BOB TAFT for the preser-

vation of those priceless principles of political and economic freedom that were born of the brain and purchased with the blood of the Founding Fathers.

Recent statistics disclose the Korean war has been our fourth most costly conflict both in blood and money treasures. The mounting casualty list had so aroused the American people that a successful termination of that war became a major issue in the presidential campaign last fall. Yet, the rank and file of the American people appear to be wholly unaware of the fact that the death casualties in 3 years of the Korean war were only 4 percent of those who were killed on the home front by cancer and that unless we find a remedy 1 out of every 5 Americans over 35 years of age or 20 percent of the population of that age will die of cancer. That eminent Director of the American Cancer Society, Dr. Charles Cameron, recently testified before our Subcommittee on Health, Education and Welfare that of the 250,000 Americans who died of cancer last year 70,000, or nearly 3 times as many as were killed in battle in Korea in 3 years, could have been saved had the disease been detected early enough. And Dr. Cameron went on to say:

> I would like you to think of what we would be faced with if a new kind of disease were to appear in New York tonight and a week later were to show up among the residents of California; that it would be shown in a short time to have stricken 1 in 5 Americans, and that 3 out of every 4 so stricken would die from it; that it would be the leading cause of death among children between the ages of 5 and 14.
>
> This, you would agree, is an epidemic. It would be an epidemic such as we have never seen in this country. Indeed it would be a national calamity. Yet, that is just what the picture of cancer is presenting today at a somewhat slower rate, and I cannot think of cancer and what we are faced with in two generations except in terms of a slow but accelerating epidemic.

Dr. Reid White, of Lexington, Va., was my beloved friend and for many years our family physician. Last year he died of cancer of the lung. Therefore, when the cancer experts

were testifying before our committee, I inquired particularly about cancer of the lung for which apparently at the present time there is no cure. I was shocked to learn that cancer of the lung among men is tripling every 12 years.

If the present trend of lung cancer continues, it alone will exceed tuberculosis as the cause of untimely death, and unless checked, it will, by the year 1970, exceed as a cause of death all other forms of cancer. And after making those statements, Dr. Cameron added:

> This is a national emergency that you are asked to abate through appropriations of this kind.

We granted his plea in part only, the total being some $6 million less than a splendid patriotic group of cancer experts said was necessary to make significant headway against this killer.

We can, of course, take some comfort from the fact, as pointed out by the great cancer expert of the Sloan-Kettering Institute, Dr. Cornelius Rhoads, that through X-ray and radium we are now curing 75,000 people a year who would have died of cancer a decade ago. But Dr. Rhoads said:

> We have to have a program of research for chemicals that will seek out and destroy cancer cells wherever they may be in the body. It has been thought in the past this could not be done, but now we know it can be done. * * * Now we are coming along with new groups of chemical compounds which we are very hopeful will exert even more salutary effects. We can today cure cancer in animals and I am hopeful we can do so in man within the next few years.

But it is not necessary for me to quote general statistics on the terrific toll of manpower now being taken by cancer. We need merely to recall what it has done to our own membership in the past 4 years—Vandenberg, Wherry, McMahon, and Taft—outstanding leaders of the Senate who could ill be spared. All were men of bodily vigor with clear and radiant minds when suddenly cut down by a disease which so far has baffled medical science. On more than one occasion Bob Taft was the outstanding choice of the businessmen of the Nation

for the Presidency, and they contributed liberally to his campaign funds. They could erect no better monument to his memory than to liberally endow the medical schools of the Nation now engaged in cancer research work. While this activity is a proper concern of the Federal Government, the primary responsibility rests with the rank and file of the American people. There are millions of stars in the firmament which have no name and which we never see, yet they join with the known stars and planets in shedding their kindly light upon the pathway of mankind.

Mr. IVES. Mr. President, before this session of the 83d Congress finally adjourns, I wish to take this opportunity to pay a word of tribute to him whose memorial services we have this day attended.

The death of ROBERT A. TAFT has left a void in the Government of the United States, and particularly in the Senate of the United States, which cannot be filled. This simple truth is recognized by all who were acquainted with his character, his ability, and his record of accomplishment; it is recognized especially by all of us who have been blessed with the opportunity of serving with him.

It has been said that no man is irreplaceable, no man is indispensable. In a sense this is true. But if ever there was a time in the history of our country when a great statesman could not be spared, could not be replaced, that time is right now. Time and again the potential of this tragic loss to the country became evident during BOB TAFT'S fatal illness; and now it will show up more and more in our floor debates, in the give-and-take of our everyday relationships among ourselves, and in the contacts between the Congress and the Chief Executive.

I leave for those, who were more closely associated with him than it was my privilege to be, the matter of personal evaluation and appraisal of this very great American. I do know that on the relatively few occasions when I did work

closely with him, the questions and issues before us were supreme with him, and personality was never involved when now and then we disagreed, for BOB TAFT was a person one liked and admired, regardless of whether one was always in complete agreement with him.

Now he is gone.

There may be some who will despair, and will ask, "What is the use?" But I say to every American who was his friend and believed in him: Be thankful that he lived in our time. Reflect upon the noble example he set for us. Carry on, as we know he would have us carry on. This is the greatest tribute we can pay to him. This is the fulfillment of our obligation as his friends—as Americans.

Mr. POTTER. Mr. President, within the last 60 days, the Lord has called 3 of our most esteemed Members from our small group.

Last week, He called BOB TAFT, who answered his last rollcall.

Words cannot describe the deep sympathies of the Senate and the Nation on the loss of this great American. His wisdom—his integrity—his devotion to duty—and his love of America are comparable only to the great principles held by Washington and Lincoln. His ability was respected alike on both sides of the aisle.

His code of ethics and fair play won the trust and confidence of all who worked with him. His advice and counsel, especially to us younger Members, proved invaluable in our efforts on the floor and in committees.

History will write of BOB TAFT as one of the few outstanding men of the 20th century. We are privileged to have had the honor to serve with him in the Senate of the United States.

It is tragic that we should lose his leadership and valued experience in these critical times when world peace is so near and yet so far. It is tragic that he could not live to

participate in and contribute to the negotiations in Korea and the Far East, at a time when our wisest counsel is most needed.

I believe it was Abraham Lincoln who said:

> Die when I may, I want it said of me by those who knew me best that I always plucked a thistle and planted a flower where I thought a flower would grow.

Truly, this was BOB TAFT. He never spoke disparagingly of anyone. He worked tirelessly to help all people, regardless of party, race, color, or creed, for the best interests of our American Republic.

He was a man's man—courageous, loyal, and faithful to the end.

In the words of Everett Dirksen, BOB TAFT was truly "Mr. Republican, Mr. American, and Mr. Integrity."

My deepest sympathies go to Mrs. Taft and members of the family in their great loss.

We shall all miss him very much.

Mr. SCHOEPPEL. Mr. President, in the rotunda of this historic Capitol today were the mortal remains of Senator BOB TAFT. Thousands passed by to pay their last tribute of respect for a man of integrity, ability, courage, and purpose.

Millions of his fellow Americans passed by in spirit—the solemn respect which only a free people can show for a man articulate and unafraid to cry out for what in his considered judgment was best for our Nation and the lives of millions within and without its borders. Somehow, Mr. President, the folks of this Nation sensed what was always in his great heart and soul, and desired to pay him tribute.

He carried no animosities toward his detractors. His thoughts and energies were directed to more constructive purposes.

Some of us had the rare privilege of personal friendship with him, enriched by our common tasks in the Senate of the United States. Some of us worked shoulder to shoulder

with him in the political arena in more hopeful days, now past and gone forever.

To know him was to love, respect, and revere him. His passing is a keen loss to the Nation and to those of us who worked with him.

Mr. President, it is fitting and proper that we do him honor commensurate with the great of our Nation.

May his soul rest in peace.

Mr. BUTLER of Nebraska. Mr. President, I was unable to speak on the day most of our colleagues spoke of the great loss which the Senate and the Nation had suffered in the passing of our late leader, Senator ROBERT A. TAFT.

BOB TAFT came to this body in January 1939. I came 2 years later, in January 1941.

BOB and Martha TAFT knew of the tragic loss which had come to me during those first days in this body, and many times they exhibited their regard in the most thoughtful and courteous treatment of the senior Senator from Nebraska.

Today I wish to pay my respects to BOB TAFT for his marvelous leadership and friendship, given so generously to all of us.

In the early days of my first session here, in 1941, many unusually important issues were debated in this body. I shall never forget them. I shall never forget BOB TAFT's friendship and cooperation. I recall one occasion when we were voting on a highly important issue. When I left the floor still undecided as to how I should vote, BOB TAFT came to the cloakroom and asked me if I was not going to vote. He did not suggest or even hint how he thought I should vote. I replied to his inquiry, "Yes; I am going to vote."

I returned to the Chamber and voted my personal conviction, which happened to be opposite to the vote of BOB TAFT. But our friendship remained as warm and firm as ever. I am sure that many others could relate similar experiences with this great statesman who has gone from us.

Men on the streets in the little towns of Nebraska are talking about the loss to the Nation in the passing of BOB TAFT. Such comments come not only from the men in his own party who knew him well personally, but also from leaders of the opposite party.

Of course, my sincere sympathy goes out to Martha Taft and her family; but, like the junior Senator from Illinois [Mr. Dirksen], I prefer to leave the thought that we should rejoice and thank God for having had ROBERT TAFT with us during the recent years. His words and his deeds will live on. "He is not dead. He is just away."

Mr. GRISWOLD. Mr. President, I should like to associate myself with the very fine tribute which my senior colleague has paid to the memory of the late Senator TAFT. I know very well that in the State of Nebraska there are hundreds of thousands of people who greatly respected his character, his integrity, and his outstanding ability. The State which is represented by my senior colleague and myself is a rather new State. There are many people living there today who homesteaded in the area. It is somewhat of a pioneer State. The log cabin tradition of American politics still prevails.

In Nebraska we respect people not because they come from a great and distinguished lineage, and not because of family background, but we respect and honor them because of their own ability, their own character, and their own achievements. The people of Nebraska, the humble people of Nebraska, had a great respect and admiration for ROBERT TAFT, not as the son of a great President, not as the son of a great Chief Justice of the United States, but because in his own life he represented the finest traditions of American citizenship and public service.

So I am happy to associate myself with my senior colleague in these brief remarks.

Mr. MALONE. Mr. President, the junior Senator from Nevada would like to associate himself with the remarks made by the senior Senator from Nebraska with respect to ROBERT A. TAFT. I will just say that he was a man who was never in the middle. He always made his position clear. It was not necessary to agree with him in order to respect him and to hold his friendship.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, it is with deep regret that I join with my colleagues in expressing my sorrow on the passing of one of America's outstanding citizens, the Honorable ROBERT A. TAFT, late a Senator from the State of Ohio.

BOB TAFT was Mr. Republican. A man of integrity and strength, he was an asset to his State and Nation. A fighter all the way, he nevertheless was patient and understanding. He was willing to listen to all sides of an argument. A logical minded man, he always had the facts to back up his own particular point of view.

The Republican Party will miss BOB TAFT; the Senate of the United States will miss him; but, most of all, the Nation will miss him.

May his soul rest in peace.

Mr. FERGUSON. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have inserted in the Appendix of the Record a touching and moving statement made on the occasion of the death of our revered colleague, the late Senator ROBERT A. TAFT, by one of his closest friends of 20 years' standing, Brig. Gen. Julius Klein.

Next to his home State of Ohio, the late Senator TAFT's favorite middle-western State was Illinois. It is therefore, only fitting that this account of his last moments be written by a man from Illinois who knew Senator TAFT intimately.

A friend of the distinguished father of our late Senator, William Howard Taft, Julius Klein has been a Taft follower

for many years. Consultant on National Defense to the Republican National Committee and past national commander of the Jewish War Veterans of the United States, Julius Klein had a distinguished record in World War II under Gen. Douglas MacArthur, who praised him as one of the country's great citizen-soldiers as did General Eisenhower.

Last year Klein was elected as a TAFT delegate from the Ninth Congressional District of Illinois to the Republican National Convention.

Traveling with Senator TAFT and assisting him, Julius Klein was of invaluable help to the late Senator in his eminently successful bid for reelection, as he was when the Senator sought the Republican nomination 4 years ago.

Julius Klein was at the hospital when Senator TAFT died. The minute the news was flashed he said:

BOB TAFT, like Lincoln, now belongs to the ages.

Many newspapers throughout the country reprinted this timely statement, but I do feel that its entire text should be preserved in the Record as a matter of historical interest.

Brig. Gen. Julius Klein, of Chicago, released the following statement from the New York hospital when Senator TAFT died:

Just like Lincoln, BOB TAFT now belongs to the ages.

He further stated:

As a citizen, I join millions of other Americans in their sorrow over the loss of one of our greatest leaders, Senator TAFT. As an individual, I mourn the loss of a friend, teacher, and adviser.

The death of TAFT is a loss also to the Western World, and his guidance and counsel will be sorely missed in the development of policy and strategy to cope with the Kremlin.

When I saw BOB TAFT walking on crutches, he jokingly told me: "I wonder whether the job of the Majority Leader isn't a jinx. Senator White, of Maine, was the Majority Leader in 1946, and he died. Scott Lucas was defeated. McFarland was also defeated. Kenneth Wherry died, and you remember the Pat Harrison-Barkley fight."

Of course, the Senator laughed as he said it, for he didn't believe in the jinx. He was hoping to go abroad this month with his inseparable mate, Martha, to visit his son, Howard Taft, who is our Ambassador to Ireland.

TAFT was not given to making political speeches with high-flown phrases, nor to advertise the blessings of democracy every time he spoke. Yet he was dedicated to the American free system, a fact demonstrated most tellingly when he gave me some sound political advice. Early last year he urged me to seek election as a delegate to the 1952 national convention of the Republican Party. At that time, I was consultant on national defense to the GOP. "A man," he said, "who wants to represent his political party, should face the electorate and let the people decide whether he is qualified for the position as their spokesman."

I followed his advice, and was elected on the promise that I would vote for TAFT's nomination. I was always a TAFT supporter, because I was thoroughly convinced of all the high attributes which he possessed, and which will be mentioned now and in the next few days, in messages of condolence by the great leaders of our own Nation and of the countries in the entire free world, as well as in editorial columns throughout the globe, excepting only the papers published behind the Iron Curtain.

Above all, TAFT was a man of integrity, who did not play to the galleries. Popularity among the masses was not important to him, but uppermost in his mind was the future welfare of his country.

Millions of people have come to identify TAFT as "Mr. Republican," but those who knew TAFT personally as well as I did will agree that he deserved to be called "Mr. America."

TAFT was an intimate friend of mine for more than 20 years. I met him first in his father's house—his father, the former President, was the Chief Justice. I know of no man who was greater in defeat than BOB TAFT. He was truly a great public servant, always considerate. Even from his hospital bed, he wrote me a cordial note, which I shall treasure the rest of my life.

He demonstrated his great patriotism, statesmanship, courage, and love for his fellow man 24 hours of the day. Many people will speculate on what would have happened if TAFT had been elected President. I was close to him during all the convention. I was with him day and night in Chicago last year, and I know that he had hoped that Senator Knowland would be his running mate. If not Senator Knowland, perhaps Gen. Douglas MacArthur. And, if he had consented to run, perhaps even General Eisenhower. I am sure his diary or notes will show this some day.

I know he had a deep respect for General Eisenhower and was determined to unite the party and the country behind the man who defeated him. I know he also considered Senators Bricker, Bridges, Dirksen, Millikin, Butler, and Ferguson his close teammates. I know particularly that he was grateful for the loyalty that Bridges showed him during the majority leadership contest. The team that TAFT trusted and respected—Eisenhower, Bridges, Joe Martin, Knowland, Ferguson, Bricker, and Dirksen—will carry on.

He had profound respect for his Democratic colleagues like Senators Ed and Lyndon Johnson, George and Byrd, and a devoted friendship to his former colleague, Senator Brewster.

Once a friend of BOB TAFT, you remained a friend. He was indeed proud and grateful for the loyalty of my own State, Illinois, and never failed to emphasize his appreciation for Senator Dirksen's friendship and courage.

Many books will be written about TAFT, but his life can be summed up like this: TAFT did more than any other man in this century to preserve our way of life—truly a great servant of the people.

I will quote only a few paragraphs from the Nation's Press that recorded General Klein's call on our illustrious late leader:

New York Times, Saturday, August 1, 1953:

Brig. Gen. Julius Klein, of the Illinois National Guard, a past national commander of the Jewish War Veterans, and a TAFT delegate at last year's Republican national convention, was at the hospital when the Senator died.

He told reporters he had visited Mr. TAFT 10 days ago and had thought "he did not appear ill at all, either mentally or physically, even though he knew death was near." He went to the hospital again Thursday and then returned to his Chicago home, but flew back here when he heard the Senator's condition had become critical.

The New York Daily Mirror of Saturday, August 1, 1953:

Also near TAFT's bedside when death came were Jack Martin, his administrative assistant, and Brig. Gen. Julius Klein, of Chicago, who was assistant floor manager at the Republican convention last summer when TAFT made his last bid to follow in his father's footsteps to the White House.

When the death was announced, Klein said:

"I think, just like Abraham Lincoln, he now belongs to the ages."

The Chicago Tribune of Saturday, August 1, 1953:

Brig. Gen. Julius Klein, Chicago public relations consultant, stated at the New York City hospital, "Just like Lincoln, TAFT now belongs to the ages. I join millions of other Americans in their sorrow over the loss of one of their greatest leaders. The death of Senator TAFT is a loss to the Western World. His guidance and counsel will be sorely missed in the development of policy and strategy to cope with the Kremlin."

The Chicago American of Friday, July 31, 1953:

Brig. Gen. Julius Klein, a close personal friend of TAFT and a Taft delegate at the Republican National Convention, was at the hospital when the Senator died. General Klein told the American: "As an individual, I mourn the loss of a friend, teacher, and adviser. The death of Senator TAFT is a loss also to the Western World, and his guidance and counsel will be sorely missed in the development of policy and strategy to cope with the Kremlin.

"Like Lincoln, now he belongs to the ages."

When Governor Stratton reinstated General Klein, after he was deactivated by former Governor Stevenson because Klein defended MacArthur, Senator TAFT, always mindful of consideration for fairness and justice, congratulated Governor Stratton who was, incidentally, one of TAFT's most loyal friends and supporters. And TAFT wired Klein:

Congratulations to you. It is indeed a tribute to you and a rebuke to those who tried to discredit you.

ROBERT A. TAFT.

And when the political campaign was over in which Klein played an important part, Senator TAFT wrote a letter as follows:

DEAR JULIUS: Now that the campaign is over, I wish to say how grateful I am for the work which you did for me during the campaign. Your work was effective in every field where you operated, and I don't believe you undertook a single job which you did not carry through with success.

I shall be glad to testify to anyone regarding your exceptional qualifications as a campaigner.

With kindest regards,

Sincerely yours,

ROBERT A. TAFT.

I am adding this personal touch to show that Senator TAFT was most considerate of his friends and supporters, just as he was most respectful to his opponents. He loved the rugged Middle West. He loved the Prairie State of Illinois. He urged his friends and close campaign managers—and that included Julius Klein of Chicago—to show the same loyalty and enthusiasms for the election and administration of Dwight D. Eisenhower. And his followers fought for Eisenhower like they fought for BOB TAFT.

I am sure that as long as Julius Klein lives, he will treasure the sacred but sad moment that was his at the New York hospital the minute the good Lord took BOB TAFT away from us.

Bob and Martha Taft's four wonderful sons and Jack Martin, his able and faithful aide, were at the bedside as America, and the democratic world, watched this great immortal son of America depart. And so, we say, as General Klein said at the New York hospital a minute after the great BOB TAFT passed on, "Now, like Abraham Lincoln, BOB TAFT belongs to the ages."

And so it will be.

Petitions, etc., were laid before the Senate and referred as indicated:

By the VICE PRESIDENT:

Telegrams in the nature of petitions from the International Union of Operating Engineers, Chicago, Ill., signed by William E. Maloney, general president; the Kiwanis International, Chicago, Ill., signed by Donald T. Forsythe, president; Mr. and Mrs. V. Alexander Nedzel, of Chicago, Ill.; the Governor of Puerto Rico, San Juan, P. R.; and the President of the Senate, Samuel R. Quinones, and speaker of the House of Representatives, Ernesto Ramos Antonini, of the Legislative Assembly of Puerto Rico, San Juan, P. R., expressing condolences on the death of the late Senator ROBERT A. TAFT; ordered to lie on the table.

A letter from the Embassy of the Federal Peoples Republic of Yugoslavia, Washington, D. C., signed by Zigo Vodusek, Charge d'Affaires, A. I., expressing condolences on the death of the late Senator ROBERT A. TAFT; ordered to lie on the table.

ROBERT ALPHONSO TAFT

A cablegram from the President of the Senate of Peru, expressing condolences on the death of the late Senator ROBERT A. TAFT; ordered to lie on the table.

A cablegram from the President of the Senate of the Dominican Republic, expressing condolences on the death of the late Senator ROBERT A. TAFT; ordered to lie on the table.

A telegram from the Council of Free Czechoslovakia, New York, N. Y., signed by Dr. Peter Zenkl, chairman, and Dr. Jozef Lettrich, vice chairman, expressing condolences on the death of the late Senator ROBERT A. TAFT; ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. COOPER. Madam President, last Friday, when the news of the death of Senator ROBERT A. TAFT reached the Senate, and today, at the memorial service, I was moved, as were all of us, by a sadness and a sense of personal loss.

Tonight, before the Senate adjourns, I wish to record also the sense of loss felt by the people of the State of Kentucky. Senator TAFT lived in Cincinnati, just across the Ohio River, and our people thought of him as a neighbor and as a friend.

The loyalty that had been his father's years ago was vouchsafed to him, and in 1940 and 1952 Kentucky supported him in his candidacy for the Presidency. In a larger sense, the people of Kentucky respected him and had pride in him for his intellectual capacity and honesty, his integrity, simplicity, courage, and love of country. These qualities were recognized by all, but not everyone knew of his humor, his warmth, and the absence of rancor and prejudice, that sometimes embitter men in public life.

I have always believed that his work for the social and economic advancement of the people of the United States was never fully recognized. Yet the body of legislation which has been enacted in recent years in the fields of housing, health, and education, legislation which has enlarged opportunity, bears the impress of his mind, and his progressive thought and effective action.

Last Friday, the distinguished Senator from Ohio [Mr. Bricker] said that the great principle in the public life of Senator TAFT was his conviction that man could govern him-

self. I am thinking tonight of an incident in the political life of ROBERT A. TAFT which, to my mind, was an expression of his conviction. I refer to the time in 1946, when, by his own force, power, and influence, he brought about defeat of legislation which would have enabled the Government of the United States to draft into servitude the workers of our country. In that action he showed clearly his deep understanding of the most profound tenet of liberalism, that is, that man must be free, whether from the coercion and free of the Government or even from its kindly designs.

His simplicity and character ennobled this body. The demonstration of sorrow over his death which we have seen in the last few days is reassuring, for it indicates that character and integrity are still held by our countrymen to be the greatest values.

I should like to repeat the words which the distinguished Senator from Ohio [Mr. Bricker] quoted this morning from the poem Lincoln, the Man of the People, by Edwin Markham:

> So came the Captain with the mighty heart:
> And when the step of Earthquake shook the house,
> Wrenching the rafters from their ancient hold,
> He held the ridgepole up and spiked again
> The rafters of the Home. He held his place—
> Held the long purpose like a growing tree—
> Held on through blame and faltered not at praise.
> And when he fell in whirlwind, he went down
> As when a kingly cedar green with boughs
> Goes down with a great shout upon the hills,
> And leaves a lonesome place against the sky.

Mr. CAPEHART. Mr. President, I hold in my hand a telegram which I received from the publisher of the Hammond Times, in which he strongly recommends, and states he has wired the President of the United States to that effect, that a cancer fund be established in the name of the late Senator TAFT.

I know of no greater honor that might be paid to the late Senator BOB TAFT than to set up such a foundation, and

I am hopeful, when we meet in January, that we will take whatever steps are necessary to set up such a foundation, both with public money and with private contributions.

I ask unanimous consent that there be printed in the Record at this point, as a part of my remarks, the telegram which I received from Mr. James S. DeLaurier, publisher of the Hammond Times, and a copy of my reply.

There being no objection, the telegrams were ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

HAMMOND, IND., *August 1, 1953.*

Senator HOMER E. CAPEHART,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D. C.:

Following is the text of a message which we have sent to the President:

"The untimely death of Senator ROBERT A. TAFT has dramatically brought to the attention of the entire Nation the fact that cancer is no respecter of persons and that the world's best medical and surgical skill cannot meet it in certain stages and forms.

"Millions in treasure are now going into the fight to conquer cancer and progress is being made, but not enough. More energy must be devoted to attaining victory sooner.

"We believe the loss of Senator TAFT will spur the people to support a Taft memorial fund which will adequately finance necessary research. We would welcome the opportunity to support any such campaign as you may propose."

We would like your reaction to the above proposal or any suggestion which you may have. Wire collect.

THE HAMMOND TIMES,
JAMES S. DELAURIER,
Publisher.

JAMES S. DELAURIER,
Publisher, the Hammond Times,
Hammond, Ind.:

Your suggestion to President laudatory. I would support 1,000 percent. Believe TAFT MEMORIAL FUND should be created from both private and public contributions. I have long advocated greatest contribution to world peace and understanding and welfare could occur through use of portion of foreign aid funds for adequate research into cancer treatment with developments to be made available to all the world. TAFT's great work for benefit of all the

world deserving of such a memorial. I want to do all in my power to help this movement. Copy of this wire being sent President Eisenhower.

Regards,

HOMER E. CAPEHART.

THURSDAY, *January 7, 1954.*

MEMORIAL OF LEGISLATURE OF ALABAMA PAYING TRIBUTE TO ROBERT A. TAFT

"House Joint Resolution 83

"Joint resolution of House of Representatives and the Senate of the State of Alabama

"Whereas our Nation has today lost one of its finest statesmen, a man who not only stood by his convictions but who in doing so retained the admiration, respect, and friendship of his colleagues, and commanded the confidence of people of all parties and stations of life in our country, and who was the worthy son of a worthy father: Now, therefore, be it

"Resolved by the House of Representatives and the Senate of the State of Alabama (now in session), That we do extend to the wife and family of Senator ROBERT A. TAFT our deepest sympathy in this sad hour and to the United States Senate our sense of its loss, and that the clerk of the house and the secretary of the senate extend immediately our sentiments, as hereinabove expressed, by transmitting to the bereaved family and to the United States Senate a copy of this resolution."

WEDNESDAY, *March 24, 1954.*

The PRESIDING OFFICER laid before the Senate the concurrent resolution (H. Con. Res. 214), which was read, as follows:

Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate concurring), That the Sanitary Engineering Center, Cincinnati, Ohio, which is to be dedicated by the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare on April 8 and 9, 1954, should be known and designated as the "ROBERT A. TAFT Sanitary Engineering Center," in honor of

the late Senator ROBERT A. TAFT, and should be dedicated as a memorial to his distinguished public service. Any law, rule, regulation, document, or record of the United States in which such center is referred to should be held to refer to such center under and by the name of the "ROBERT A. TAFT Sanitary Engineering Center."

Mr. MARTIN. I ask unanimous consent for the present consideration of the concurrent resolution.

There being no objection, the concurrent resolution was considered and agreed to.

Proceedings
in the
House of Representatives

Proceedings in the House

FRIDAY, *July 31, 1953.*

A message from the Senate, by Mr. Ast, one of its clerks, announced that the Senate had adopted the following resolution (S. Res. 156):

Resolved, That the Senate has heard with profound sorrow and deep regret the announcement of the death of Hon. ROBERT A. TAFT, late a Senator from the State of Ohio.

Resolved, That the President of the Senate appoint a committee, of which he shall be a member, to attend the funeral of the deceased Senator.

Resolved, That the Secretary communicate these resolutions to the House of Representatives and transmit a copy thereof to the family of the deceased.

Resolved, That, as a further mark of respect to the memory of the deceased, the Senate do now adjourn until 10 o'clock ante meridian tomorrow.

Mr. JENKINS. Mr. Speaker, I offer a resolution (H. Res. 379) and ask for its immediate consideration.

The Clerk read as follows:

Resolved, That the House has heard with profound sorrow of the death of Hon. ROBERT A. TAFT, a Senator of the United States from the State of Ohio.

Resolved, That the Clerk communicate these resolutions to the Senate and transmit a copy thereof to the family of the deceased Senator.

Resolved, That a committee of 30 Members be appointed on the part of the House to join the committee appointed on the part of the Senate to attend the funeral.

The resolution was agreed to.

The SPEAKER. The Chair will announce the committee tomorrow.

The Clerk will report the remainder of the resolution.

The Clerk read as follows:

Resolved, That as a further mark of respect to the memory of the deceased, the House do now adjourn.

The resolution was agreed to.

Thereupon (at 8 o'clock and 23 minutes p. m.) the House adjourned until tomorrow, August 1, 1953, at 10 o'clock a. m.

SATURDAY, *August 1, 1953.*

The Chaplain, Rev. Bernard Braskamp, D. D., offered the following prayer:

O Thou Divine Sovereign, in whose keeping and control are the destinies of men and nations, we are again facing tasks and responsibilities which demand the wholehearted consecration of every capacity, talent, and faculty with which we have been endowed.

Kindle within us a brave and joyous response to the challenge of taking an honorable part in giving to suffering and struggling humanity a new birth of freedom and hope.

Grant that when we encounter hardships we may never heed the counsels of despair and allow our energies to become paralyzed by any persuasion that our vision of universal peace is an illusion and a forlorn hope.

May the holy and just cause in which we are engaged never be betrayed by our indifference and unfaithfulness, by our doubts and fears, but inspire us with patience and determination and with unity of spirit and high resolve.

To Thy name, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, we give all the praise. Amen.

The SPEAKER. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. Jenkins].

Mr. JENKINS. Mr. Speaker, all over the country yesterday and today the people quite generally are saying in effect that we have lost our leading statesman. I have no doubt that the

impartial historians of this generation and future generations will agree with the appraisal the American people are making.

Thirty years ago BOB TAFT was a member of the House of Representatives of the Ohio Legislature, and I was a member of the State senate at the same time. Of course we were then, and have always been, good friends. Mr. TAFT during that service manifested his great ability as a legislator. He was the recognized leader of the house then. Later he was elected to the Ohio Senate, and again he showed his genius as a legislator and as a leader in matters of legislation, and he was clearly recognized as the leader of the Ohio Senate.

I appreciate that there are many Members of this House on both sides of the aisle who would like to participate in this service of eulogy, consequently I shall not consume much time.

I have often thought of the many virtues of BOB TAFT and how they appealed to so many people. His mental capacity impressed the whole world. His qualities of leadership in legislative matters were unmatched. But what I liked most about him was that he always told the truth. To me that was his strongest virtue. He never deceived anybody anyplace. In the field of politics, intrigue and sharp practice are the weapons of many, but I never heard anybody say that BOB TAFT practiced deceit. There was a great man imbued with a great and a right spirit. The country and the world proclaims his greatness. Not only was he great in his public service, but in his home life he was magnificent. The tender care and loving solicitude that he manifested toward his invalid wife, who had given all but her very life in her devotion to him and the family, won the hearts of all America. A man who has the esteem of all the world and the affections of his whole family is rightly to be considered America's stateman and a real American in every sense of the word.

I had been a member of Congress for some time before Mr. TAFT came to the Senate. During his long service in the

Senate we have cooperated many times in an official way for the best interests of Ohio and the whole country.

In Mr. TAFT's many political contests I took a very active interest and when he was first a candidate for the Presidency he selected me with four others to manage his campaign. Every Wednesday morning from about the first of March to the July convention he met with us and we met with him in his headquarters that were located in the Raleigh Hotel in Washington. Between meeting days we all worked diligently in the furtherance of his campaign. Mr. TAFT asked that I be assigned to the committee on the platform. The members of this important committee met in Philadelphia about 2 weeks before the convention. It was my task to see to it that the platform would be consistent with the views of Mr. TAFT. I discharged this duty to the best of my ability and, I am glad to say, to the approval of Mr. TAFT.

That convention was a momentous one. TAFT's principal opponent in the early days of the campaign was Mr. Dewey of New York. For days that contest waged. But while this contest was waging a new, dynamic candidate began to make headway in this campaign. His name was Wendell Willkie, and I shall not take time to go into this matter except to say that the fall election proved that a man of Mr. TAFT's capacity and ability would have been more acceptable to the people. Although Mr. Willkie was a capable man, still he apparently could not command the support of the people.

In Mr. TAFT's other campaigns, some of which were poorly managed, he was denied the support of the people—and Mr. TAFT was always strong with the people. When they had a fair chance to support him, he was elected. But although he was not elected President, he is still a great American.

Mr. Speaker, I yield to our majority leader, the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. Halleck].

Mr. HALLECK. Mr. Speaker, the Nation has lost a truly great man in the untimely death of Senator ROBERT A. TAFT.

As House majority leader I have had an opportunity perhaps beyond that of a great many others on this side of the Congress to work closely with BOB TAFT down through the years.

It has been one of the greatest pleasures of my own career in the House of Representatives to work closely with the man who carried the responsibility of Republican leadership in the Senate. In that association I found BOB TAFT always reasonable, always diligent, and always completely sincere in his approach to the legislative issues we faced together.

He had one yardstick by which to measure his decisions: what course of action would be best for America?

If the mark of a man's true stature in a Government career is made by his contribution to the general welfare of the country—and I believe it is—then we must accord to ROBERT TAFT the distinction of having been one of the great public servants in the Nation's history.

BOB TAFT was a statesman who loved his country above all other considerations in his long career. He put that devotion above party, above private interests, and above personal ambition.

Senator TAFT's conduct throughout his official life should serve as an inspiration for future generations of men and women who seek careers in public life.

His courage was unquestioned.

His integrity was unassailable.

His energy was amazing.

Senator TAFT's support of issues was not determined by ballot-box appeal, but by whether, in his considered judgment, the net effect of a legislative proposal would be good or bad for the people of this country.

His word was not easily nor lightly given, but once given that word was his bond.

TAFT was a man with a deep and abiding respect for principle, but with that great quality he retained an open-minded approach to the vexing problems of the day which was refreshing and wholesome.

He was a man of conviction yet open to argument on any question and not above admitting the justice and merit of ideas offered by those in disagreement.

BOB TAFT was a man of positive ideas, aggressive and resourceful in debate without abandoning the role of a gentleman. But let it be said that he was also a man who would listen.

I am deeply grieved at the loss of a fine friend. But perhaps beyond that, I am distressed that the Nation has lost the vigorous and unselfish service of an outstanding leader at a gravely critical time in our history.

Senator TAFT's experience, his wisdom, and his character will be sorely missed by all of us as we struggle to solve the many difficult and trying problems which lie ahead.

Mr. JENKINS. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the distinguished gentleman from Illinois [Mr. Arends].

Mr. ARENDS. Mr. Speaker, words cannot express the deep loss I personally feel with the passing of the distinguished Senator from Ohio, BOB TAFT. He was a personal friend of mine whom I loved and admired. He was a constant inspiration to me. To know him was to love him and to work with him was to admire him. That was my good fortune, and today my heart is filled with a sorrow beyond measure.

Lives of great men all remind us,
We can make our lives sublime;
And, departing leave behind us
Footprints on the sands of time.

Senator TAFT was one of the world's truly great men, a man of such character and ability, a man of so many accomplishments, that while he is no longer with us his

words and deeds will live for all time to counsel and inspire. He has indeed left "footprints on the sands of time."

He was a man of high principle and absolute integrity. He was a man of tremendous intellectual ability and, even more important, of complete intellectual honesty. Even his political antagonists respected him for his ability and integrity. The truth was his source of strength. When persuaded to a particular course of action, to a particular policy or principle, nothing could deter him from it, whatever the consequences to himself. I do not believe that any man served in public life who was more completely unselfish. He at all times in all things sought unfailingly to serve only God and country.

He was a man of convictions, and he had no fear whatever of expressing them. He was without fear because he knew that his convictions were based on the facts as he saw them and not upon pure emotionalism. He was without fear because he always stood on principle and never resorted to expediency. Many an unfair attack has been made upon him and the causes he advocated, but BOB TAFT always stood firm as an unconquerable citadel of truth and honesty.

Truly, Mr. Speaker, there are few men of BOB TAFT'S character and stature and leadership ability. Few men have had a greater or more potent influence than BOB TAFT on the formulation of national policy and translating that policy into legislative action. His passing is not only a loss to me and his countless personal friends. It is not only a loss to the Republican Party. It is a loss to the entire country.

These words seem to express the philosophy of BOB TAFT as I personally knew him:

> Teach us, good Lord, to serve Thee as Thou deservest:
> To give and not to count the cost;
> To fight and not to heed the wounds;
> To toil and not to seek for rest;
> To labor and not ask for any reward
> Save that of knowing that we do Thy will.

I extend my deepest sympathy to the Taft family. Of the passing of this dear friend of mine I shall say:

Life's race well run,
Life's work well done,
Life's victory won,
Now cometh rest.

Mr. JENKINS. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the distinguished former Speaker of the House, the gentleman from Texas [Mr. Rayburn].

Mr. RAYBURN. Mr. Speaker, I received the news of the death of Senator TAFT with great sadness. I personally lost, because I was fond of the man. Our country lost terribly, for he was an able and fearless statesman, a truly great American.

Mr. JENKINS. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the distinguished gentleman from Ohio [Mr. Hess].

Mr. HESS. Mr. Speaker, the death of Senator TAFT is a shock not only to this Nation but to the entire world. His passing takes from our midst the greatest statesman of our generation. His greatness of heart, his political acumen and purity of reasoning have always been an inspiration to his party. Every American has come to know and respect him for his ideals and accomplishments in public service.

It is with profound sorrow that I reflect not only my personal loss of a friendship enduring for more than 30 years, but also the incalculable loss to this Nation.

I became acquainted with BOB TAFT in the early twenties, when I became actively affiliated with the Republican Party in his and my home town, Cincinnati, Ohio. We were both Republican precinct executives, the lowest political elective position in our party. BOB rose through the ranks rapidly, became chairman of the executive committee of the party, locally, then State representative, State senator, and finally United States Senator. Our friendship deepened during the years, and I sought his advice on numerous occasions, espe-

cially on national problems, for there was no man I ever knew who had a more thorough knowledge of government than he.

We can only hope that with the passing of this truly great statesman his unselfish public service will serve as a constant inspiration for those who follow.

I extend to his devoted wife, Martha, and to his four fine sons, my deepest sympathy in this hour of great loss, and I pray the good Lord will comfort and console them.

In the words of Shakespeare:

His life was gentle, and the elements so mixed in him that nature might stand up and say to all the world, "This was a man."

Mr. JENKINS. Mr. Speaker, I yield now to the distinguished gentleman who represents the district from which BOB TAFT came, Cincinnati.

Mr. SCHERER. Mr. Speaker, Senator TAFT lived in the First Congressional District of Ohio. I am honored to represent that district in the Congress of the United States, if for no other reason than it was the home of BOB TAFT.

When the senior Senator from Ohio gave up the active leadership of the Senate a few weeks ago, he was, in my opinion, the world's greatest statesman.

While the Nation has suffered a tremendous shock and irreparable loss at his passing, we, his fellow Cincinnatians who have known him over the years—long before he came to the Senate, we, who have campaigned with him and for him; we, of his hometown who have known him in his days of triumph and his hours of bitter disappointment, have suffered by far the severest shock and the greatest loss.

No longer will we from Cincinnati when traveling in far-off places hear people say, "Oh, yes; you are from BOB TAFT's town." Yes; Cincinnati and the name TAFT are almost synonymous. Senator TAFT not only added stature and prestige to a great city but to the Nation and his party.

In closing this brief tribute, as a Representative of the people from his hometown, I am reminded of the words of Rebecca in the story of Ivanhoe:

> And oh, when stoops on Judah's path
> In shade and storm the frequent night,
> Be Thou, long suffering, slow to wrath,
> A burning and a shining light!

Mr. JENKINS. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the distinguished gentleman from Ohio [Mr. Polk] whose district is in the Cincinnati area.

Mr. POLK. Mr. Speaker, a mighty oak of the forest has fallen. Divine providence has seen fit to call home an outstanding leader among men. The great State of Ohio is sad today for one of her greatest sons of all time has been called to relinquish this mortal life. The worthy son of a great father, ROBERT A. TAFT had only a few months ago embarked, as majority leader of the United States Senate, on a new and exceedingly important phase of his political life.

Affectionately called "Mr. Republican" by his friends and supporters throughout this Nation, BOB TAFT was the living prototype of the Republican Party. In his philosophy of government he was the unquestioned leader of those who espouse the conservative Republicanism which has been the political ideal of that party for the past 80 years.

BOB TAFT, as a result of the vicissitudes of politics, was cheated out of his life's ambition to be President, but in political defeat he rose to new heights of eminence by using his great political talents to help elect the man who had defeated him in the convention and later by assuming the leadership of his party in the United States Senate, he showed his true ability as a great leader and statesman.

In this Senate leadership he was unsurpassed in his ability to draw together those with divergent views on national issues, to compromise differences in the political philosophies

of other strong minds and secure passage of the legislation he espoused.

I extend my deepest sympathy to Mrs. Taft, whose keen mind and charming personality has been such a great help to BOB TAFT through all the years of his political activity.

As a Democratic Representative in Congress, I have differed with Senator TAFT on some political and economic questions, but I have always recognized his sincerity of purpose and his great political talents.

We in Ohio, Democrats and Republicans alike, will miss his wise counsel, his keen intellect, his discerning perception on all domestic issues and the mature judgment of his conservative political leadership.

At this troublesome and critical time in the world's history, the American people can ill afford to lose a man of his ability and experience.

In the rich prime of his life's work he has been stricken down and taken from us. While it is undoubtedly true that no man is indispensable, the present administration has lost its greatest leader.

Of BOB TAFT, the politician par excellence, it can also be truly said that he was also one of America's greatest statesmen. As Winston Churchill embodies the heart and soul of the British Conservatives, so BOB TAFT surely was the prime minister of American Republicanism.

Mr. JENKINS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Connecticut [Mr. Patterson] be permitted to extend his remarks at this point in the Record.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Ohio?

There was no objection.

Mr. PATTERSON. Mr. Speaker, the death of Senator TAFT has removed from the national scene a true patriot and great American. I am certain that notwithstanding political dif-

ferences, all citizens will join in tribute to this great man who exemplified the spirit of sportmanship and Christian endeavor.

Despite his defeat for the Republican nomination for President, BOB TAFT exhibited no bitterness nor recriminations, but plunged in willingly to assist in carrying out the objectives of the Eisenhower administration.

I am proud to have served with BOB TAFT in the Congress. The Nation has lost an outstanding citizen.

Mr. JENKINS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members may have permission to extend their remarks at this point in the Record on the life and character of the late Senator TAFT.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Ohio?

There was no objection.

Mr. DEROUNIAN. Mr. Speaker, I was most fortunate to have had the good fate to spend about an hour—quite by accident—with our late beloved Senator TAFT, in flying from the Washington National Airport to LaGuardia Field, New York, a few months ago. Despite the pressure of problems, he was en route to address a Yale class reunion. To me, this was a concrete indication of his loyalty.

It was my first meeting with him and in the short period I was able to feel the warmth of his personality, something that never had been revealed to the American public by some of the press.

He was very frank in his answers to questions regarding the foreign situation, fiscal policy, and overall objectives of the administration.

He blushingly acquiesced to requests for autographs from the stewardess, several Waves, and others who were passengers on the plane, and revealed a modestly gracious character.

As we reached LaGuardia Field and left the plane, my wife and 10-month-old daughter, Ann, were awaiting me. Of course, I introduced the Senator to them and he chucked Ann under the chin and with a few words of baby talk to her, replaced his crushed fedora, and said "goodbye."

As you can see, he was quite human, and in addition to being our greatest American legislator, he was a man of God.

Mr. MILLS. Mr. Speaker, it was with profound regret that I learned of the death of Senator ROBERT A. TAFT. The country has not only lost one of its most able citizens, but the Congress has lost one of the most highly respected, hard-working, and able legislators in its history.

Senator TAFT was forthright, fair, steadfast when it came to matters of principle, yet willing to hear fully the merits and exercise his judgment accordingly. It was my honor and privilege to work with him on conferences between the Committee on Ways and Means and the Senate Finance Committee and gain first-hand the highest respect for his fairness and integrity.

Above all else, Senator TAFT's patriotism to his country came first. His unselfish devotion to the welfare of his country is witnessed by his long and enviable record in the Congress. He was an inspiration and encouragement to younger Members of the Congress, such as myself.

Mr. PHILBIN. Mr. Speaker, Senator TAFT was the best informed statesman of our generation. In stature, in patriotism, in character, in firmness of conviction, in ability, and in unflagging industry, he was without a peer.

Those who disagreed with his viewpoints on public questions would be the first to acknowledge his capacity, his zeal, his sincerity, and his great ability.

Millions of Americans regarded him as an unequaled leader, a man of sterling principles and unswerving purpose. Perhaps no man in an American Congress has ever so completely mastered knowledge of government in all its sweep-

ing ramifications. There was virtually no public question upon which he was not abundantly informed. He was modest and humble and never given to arrogance or superiority.

A controversial figure, often misconstrued and misrepresented, he never lost his balance.

A conservative in political outlook, he was kindly and humane by nature and tolerant in his relations with the people. A strong constitutionalist, he was an unflinching defender of minority rights.

He was universally respected for his Americanism, his great ability, and his fairness. Truly one of our greatest American statesmen of all time, his loss at this time will be particularly felt in the other body and in high councils of the Government.

In addition, he will be sorely missed by the people of his State whom he served so devotedly, and by his many friends.

To them and especially to his bereaved family, I extend my deepest sympathly and join my colleagues in the House and the great American people in mourning his untimely passing. May he find rest and peace in his eternal reward.

Mr. NEAL. Mr. Speaker, I wish to extend the sympathy of the citizens of West Virginia to the family of ROBERT A. TAFT. A major segment of our population resides in an area historically and economically joined in common interests, separated only by the great Ohio River which contributes so much to their welfare and prosperity.

The name of Taft has been a symbol of honor, courage, inspiration, and achievement in the minds of all the people of my State, who now humbly join with the people of our Nation in paying homage to a great man.

Mr. CANFIELD. Mr. Speaker, I share with my distinguished colleague from New Jersey [Mr. Auchincloss] the sentiment that while much has been lost in Senator TAFT'S passing there is also much that abides. The great leader from Ohio has left a tremendous imprint on the very Con-

gress itself because it was only yesterday that he walked and labored amongst us proving in his daily approach to the most difficult problems of our day that integrity, loyalty, and fearlessness were just as important as ability in serving the commonweal.

It is indeed proper that Mrs. Taft be specially remembered here today and I was pleased to hear the distinguished gentleman from Ohio [Mr. Ayres] recall her boast that she did not marry an ordinary man. I liked, too, the story presented to us today by the distinguished gentleman from Ohio [Mr. Secrest], who described how Senator TAFT had gone all out for him, a Democrat, when he needed help on the Senate side in securing legislation much needed by his district in Ohio. And it was well for the distinguished gentlewoman from New York [Mrs. St. George] to emphasize that Senator TAFT had never been defeated by the people.

My heart goes out at this moment to Mrs. Taft and her four fine sons who are carrying on for our country in that now famous Taft tradition.

Mr. HOFFMAN of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, with the passing of Senator TAFT employees and employers lost a friend, the country a competent faithful public servant, the Members of Congress a wise and willing counselor and guide.

No man of his time was more able, courageous, conscientious, faithful, or diligent in serving the public.

Mr. CASE. Mr. Speaker, Senator TAFT was one of America's truly great men.

He stood like a rock for what he believed was right. His leadership will be sorely missed by his colleagues in the Congress, by his country, and by the world. He set a standard by which men will measure their public servants for generations to come.

In our deep sorrow, our hearts go out to his beloved wife and family, with our prayers that God will sustain them, now and in the days that lie ahead.

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, the death of Senator TAFT brings to every loyal American a great sense of personal loss. He gave himself unsparingly in the service of his country. He labored to the end for the right as he saw it.

Senator TAFT's career was a truly dedicated one; his deep integrity; his high sense of rectitude; his intellectual honesty; his true devotion to the public welfare combined to make him a courageous and gifted national leader. Few men in our national history have ever grown so in the esteem and affection of all the people as has Senator TAFT, and it was a tribute to his splendid character, as well as to the American sense of righteousness, that this was accomplished through candor and his continuous insistence upon reckoning with political realities, not fiction.

Carlyle defines genius as a capacity for taking infinite pains, and this mark of the exceptional Senator TAFT possessed to a remarkable degree. To him public office was a serious responsibility and his elevated concept of duty was the spur which drove him on to herculean labors in statescraft. All about us, in our national life, in our institutions, and in the spirit of our people, Senator TAFT has left the impress of his character.

Throughout the world wherever free men breathe, Senator TAFT's death will be mourned and his memory cherished. The oppressed had in him a hardy champion, his mind ranged the global scene, and he knew above all that good government, anchored in sound legislative programs, administering to the people, was the best promise of security and stability in our times.

That he was so very recently and movingly so active among us in Congress; that he was so suddenly taken down and so quickly summoned beyond, makes his death all the greater loss. That God in His merciful providence has summoned Senator TAFT to his true home, at the same time leaving us memories of him at the summit of his powers, is a dramatic manifestation of the inscrutable way of the Almighty. Here

is a life that is a rich and meaningful sermon and the end was written in the beginning rightly illuminating the fact that Senator TAFT's life was for the expending in behalf of his countrymen.

Realizing full well the futility of our words at this time to alleviate the sorrow of his dearly beloved wife and family, I want, however, to bring my humble word of condolence to the bereaved in the hope and belief that their faith in the design of our Common Father will fill them with the spirit of acceptance and peace that join the faithful now and in eternity.

To Mrs. Taft and her loved ones, Mrs. McCormack and I extend our profound sympathy in their bereavement.

Mr. VAN PELT. Mr. Speaker, I join with my colleagues in extending my deep, heartfelt sympathies to Mrs. Taft and her sons. The poets have said we are but actors for a brief hour on the stage of life. Senator TAFT, the Senator; Mr. American, the citizen; Mr. Republican, the politician, played his part well.

The following editorial which appeared in the Trade Union Courier and which I placed in the Congressional Record June 26, 1953, expresses far better than I am able to do how well Senator TAFT played his part:

Though we have disagreed with Senator TAFT from time to time on questions affecting the labor movement and more recently on his reiterated isolationism, we have always respected the integrity of "Mr. Republican" and never doubted his patriotism. In the GOP he is by far the most brilliant politico of them all, and his enforced retirement to the sidelines will certainly leave a great gap in the Republicant corner of the 83d Congress.

President Eisenhower's very slim majority in the House and the Senate will not be ameliorated in any way by the absence of his articulate and courageous majority leader who, 63 and ailing, must follow doctors' orders and give up his strenuous chores. Now more than ever the Chief Executive needs BOB TAFT—for momentous decisions must be reached by the administration and congressional backing, which Mr. Republican was able to muster for the boss these past 4 months, is imperative. The Korean armistice, for example,

will bring new problems in its wake, and the President will not be able to solve them without necessary support from the Senate. The same applies to domestic issues.

We therefore join D. D. E. in wishing BOB TAFT a speedy recovery. And pray that policy committee chairman William F. Knowland, of California, who will be taking on the job of acting majority leader, will carry enough weight in his own ranks until the indefatigable Senator from Ohio will have recuperated enough to return to the President's side.

Mr. ADAIR. Mr. Speaker, the death of Senator TAFT comes as a distinct shock and loss to the United States. His integrity and leadership marked an unparalleled career in our Government during one of the most critical periods in our history.

His greatness in politics was clearly demonstrated last year when he failed to receive the nomination of his party for the Presidency and then turned around to be among the strongest and most faithful supporters of President Eisenhower.

Senator TAFT was a true American, strong in his convictions of what was right and wrong. He steadfastly fought for the principles of government which had placed this country in the forefront. He loved liberty and freedom and held fast to the ideals which were conceived and dedicated to what we term the American way of life.

There was never any question about Senator TAFT's personal character. He was strong, clean-cut and intelligent. A student of political science, a lawyer, and an outstanding citizen, Senator TAFT was always a public figure to command respect and admiration.

While he was denied the role of presidential candidate for the Republican Party, his conservatism, forthrightness, and strict adherence to the fundamental concepts of the party earned him the title of "Mr. Republican."

His death comes as a deep blow to the country. There will never be anyone fully to take his place. But for generations to come, the imprint of his personality and influence

will remain alive and active for the good of the Nation he loved and served so well. He was indeed a great man.

To Mrs. Taft and the members of the Taft family go my deep and sincere condolences in their hour of grief and sorrow. I hope that in some measure the knowledge of the Nation's love and admiration for Senator TAFT will help comfort and carry them through this trying and difficult period. They suffer the tremendous impact of his loss as the head of their family—and our Nation loses one who leaves behind an unforgettable pattern of statesmanship.

Mr. MACK of Washington. Mr. Speaker, Senator BOB TAFT is dead. A courageous voice is silenced. A fighting heart is forever stilled. In his passing our country has lost the services of one of the ablest and best informed legislators in the Nation's history.

Senator TAFT's contribution to the legislative history of his times were great. But, greater still was the example of forthrightness and courage he always displayed on every issue and on every occasion, which will inspire future legislators for generations to come.

Senator TAFT was loved by all who knew him for the fine qualities of his character and the friendliness of his personality. He was admired and respected by his political foes for his ability, his courage, and his complete honesty.

The country and the world needs more ROBERT TAFTS.

Mr. BEAMER. Mr. Speaker, the death of Senator TAFT marks the passing of a great man who typified a patriotic love for his country. His position cannot be filled and his place in history has been assured.

Indiana is a neighboring State of Ohio, the home of Senator TAFT, and the ties between these two great Midwestern States and between its citizens was exemplified by the loyalty and respect that Hoosiers always expressed toward ROBERT A. TAFT.

One of the finest compliments paid to me by a newspaper correspondent was a comparison of the teamwork of Bob and Martha Taft with the teamwork in campaigns and for 25 years that has been my privilege to enjoy with my wife.

All of us who knew Senator TAFT only in the more recent years and his many lifetime friends have been enriched in soul and spirit by his character and his example. My acquaintance with this great American will be a cherished memory.

Mr. BERRY. Mr. Speaker, on leave to extend my remarks, I would like to add that on behalf of the thousands of good friends that Senator BOB TAFT leaves in South Dakota, I want to pay tribute to one of the great men of American history and certainly one of the great statesmen of modern times.

He will be sorely missed by a Nation which needs his advice and counsel.

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, the passing of Senator ROBERT A. TAFT was a great shock to me. I had the privilege of serving with Senator TAFT on the Joint Committee on Economic Report for 7 years. He was one of the ablest and most sincere men I have ever known. He had both character and courage. He always had the interest of the people at heart and invariably placed country above political party. Although he was a loyal party man and one of the greatest assets of his political party, he was highly respected and regarded by those of a different party and belief. He was one of America's greatest statesmen and our country has lost one of its finest and best leaders. This tremendous loss is deplored by all the people of the United States.

Mr. LONG. Mr. Speaker, I knew Senator TAFT. Of course, being of a different political faith I did not know him intimately. America has lost one of her great statesmen, if not the greatest, and at a time when she needed him the most. The loss of ROBERT A. TAFT will be felt by this Nation for

many years to come. It is to be regretted that we will be deprived of his sound judgment and timely advice.

I join with the rest of my colleagues in the Congress of the United States in expressing to his good wife and fine family my sincere and heartfelt sympathy in this their greatest hour of bereavement.

Mr. HELLER. Mr. Speaker, the death of Senator ROBERT A. TAFT is a great blow to the entire Nation. I am deeply shocked and saddened by the loss we have sustained today. Our country is poorer because of his departure from our midst.

I did not see eye to eye with Senator TAFT on most issues that came before the Congress. I disagreed with his basic concepts and with his general philosophy, I disapproved of his views and his opinions. But I always knew exactly what his philosophy was and how he stood on every issue—and so did the whole country and the entire world.

Senator TAFT's philosophy and outlook upon life was clear and understandable. It had only one meaning: to take the side which he considered just and fight for it. He was no fence-straddler. Everybody knew what he stood for. As such he was an indefatigable worker and fighter for the principles which he thought were right, and he was therefore an object lesson in tenacity and aggressiveness the likes of which America has not seen in decades.

Even though one disagreed with him, one had to love and admire him because of his integrity and his honest approach to problems. To a large extent Senator TAFT's role in American life has been that of a dissenter from the vast public opinion. This made him unpopular among large segments of the population and even with certain elements within his own party; nevertheless, it did not diminish the affection for him on the part of all those who differed with him throughout his long public service.

He was one of America's great statesmen of the present era. He was also a great scholar thoroughly familiar with the problems and issues of our day. He stimulated people everywhere to study and evaluate and reexamine the many difficult problems with which we have been confronted with such increasing speed in recent years due to the tempo of the times.

Senator TAFT has left an indelible mark on America and the world as a whole. He was a force for everything that is good and constructive. Although he was conservative in his viewpoint, he was by no means narrow-minded and extremist. He preferred to see reason and he could always be reasoned with. America will miss him for his strong convictions and his even temper, for his sound counsel and his able leadership. He has attained a unique place in the hearts of all Americans, regardless of political affiliation, and he will long be remembered with deep affection.

Mr. Speaker, I extend my heartfelt condolences and my deepest sympathy to his family in their hour of great bereavement. May they be consoled by the thought that his name will be recorded in the annals of American history in golden letters, and that his accomplishments will remain a priceless legacy for generations to come.

Mr. THOMPSON of Texas. Mr. Speaker, for some years I have treasured a little story concerning Senator TAFT. It sheds a light on one of his very human characteristics and it may be of interest to his friends now even during all of the stirring eulogies which are being so freely spoken. It happened during the war when I was in charge of the Officer Procurement Division in Marine Corps Headquarters.

We began receiving inquiries from Senator TAFT's office concerning a young marine enlisted man who had applied for officer training. It was immediately apparent to us that the man was well qualified to hold a commission. We listed his name for consideration with the next available group of candidates. In the meantime this young man was in the

combat zone and while he was awaiting his officer training assignment, he was involved in about as dangerous a series of actions as could befall any marine. We occasionally received an inquiry from Senator TAFT's office to know whether or not we had any news of him. Nothing was ever expressed except interest. There was no suggestion that the man should be hurried home. Once or twice we took note that the Senator himself called on the phone.

One day we received word that the young marine had been wounded. I took it on myself to send a dispatch to his organization to find out how serious it might be and learned to my relief that he was recovering and was on his way back to the States. I remarked to the officer who had been helping me gather the information that I could now phone Senator TAFT's office and give him the good news that the marine was not seriously wounded and was on his way back to the States, and at the same time I could tell him that he was at last due for officer training.

My officer then asked me if I knew that this was a nephew of Senator TAFT. I did not, but when I called his office, I told his secretary that I had news of the Senator's nephew and she then said: "I think you should give it to the Senator personally." When he came on the line, I said: "Senator, your nephew is on his way home, has recovered from his wounds and is about to be sent to officer training." There was a pause and then Senator TAFT said: "How did you know it was my nephew?" I told him that we had accidentally discovered it from the records. He asked me then whether his office had in any way made it known, because he said that he had told them most emphatically that the nephew was to make good on his own and without any reference to his distinguished relative.

It was a pleasure to be able to tell him that his office had violated no confidence and that the nephew was well qualified through his own ability. It was only by accident that my officers had made the discovery.

I have thought of this many times and I have always been impressed that Senator TAFT was a great man through his own efforts and not at all because he, himself, was the son of a former President of the United States.

Mr. BRAY. Mr. Speaker, the death of Senator TAFT leaves a great void in our National Government. His leadership was sorely needed. At the present there is no one on the horizon to fill that void.

He will go down in history as one of the leading statesmen of our age. He was always a leader of strong character, principles and beliefs. Such a leader attracts strong friends and strong enemies. So it was with Senator TAFT. Perhaps one of the greatest tributes that can be made to that great American is that even his strongest political enemies have always praised the great courage, honesty, and integrity of BOB TAFT.

In future years the life of Senator TAFT will be pointed out as a symbol of all that is clean, fine, and courageous in American political life.

Mr. HOPE. Mr. Speaker, in the death of ROBERT A. TAFT this Nation has suffered an irreparable loss. In these times when many of the problems confronting this country and the world seem almost incapable of solution, we can ill afford to lose a man with the experience, ability, integrity, and statesmanship of Senator TAFT.

Without a doubt he was the greatest legislator of our time and one of the greatest in our history. Although his party has been in the minority during almost all of his legislative service, his imprint is stamped upon most of the important legislation enacted during that time.

He had no peer in his knowledge of public affairs. There was no harder worker in Congress. No one was held in greater respect by his fellow legislators. His honesty and fairness were proverbial. Senator TAFT believed deeply in our system of government. He believed in political parties,

and he was often referred to as "Mr. Republican." But all who knew him recognized that while he believed strongly in party government, with him the Nation and its interest were always first and the party second.

Senator TAFT's place cannot be filled; but in our sadness at his passing, all of us can feel that our Nation is better and stronger because he has lived. Our heartfelt sympathy goes to his family. May they be given the strength to carry their heavy burden.

Mr. BELCHER. Mr. Speaker, I have lost a dear personal friend, the Republican Party has lost Mr. Republican, and the Nation and the world have lost a great leader. Senator ROBERT A. TAFT, or BOB TAFT, as he was more affectionately known, stood out in these trying times like a sturdy oak in a storm-swept forest. The Nation is going to miss the strong, sturdy leadership of BOB TAFT. He at times suffered severe criticism, but no one ever questioned his honesty, integrity, or sincerity. His shyness was sometimes mistaken for aloofness, but he was one of the most sincerely friendly men I have ever known.

It is my fervent hope that God in His infinite mercy will sustain his devoted widow and family in this sad hour.

Mrs. CHURCH. Mr. Speaker, the Nation today mourns the irreparable loss of a leader without peer in capacity and character—and those indeed who were fortunate enough to call him "friend" feel a sadness of heart that will not soon be gone.

Briefly I wish to bring before this House my own deep tribute to Senator TAFT; and the tribute also of my District—the 13th of Illinois—which knew and honored and loved him well.

Into a world darkened by ideological struggle and actual conflict, Mr. TAFT's clarity of vision, intellectual honesty and indomitable courage brought a clear shaft of light and hope. We shall not meet his equal soon again.

To Mrs. Taft and his saddened family, we offer sympathy and loyalty, and an indomitable faith that not even death can separate them—or the Nation—from the strength and purpose which this Christian gentleman breathed into the spirit of his times.

Mr. MEADER. Mr. Speaker, the death of Senator TAFT, a victim of cancer, is a milestone in American political history. "Mr. Republican" played a leading role in shaping American policy in his capacity as majority leader of the Senate and as a respected adviser to President Eisenhower in formulating the program of the first Republican administration in 20 years. His logical reasoning, his perspective, his political judgment and his ability through the art of compromise to achieve an acceptable reconciliation of conflicting views, while maintaining constant adherence to fundamental principle, will be missed in the days ahead.

I would like to record an episode which constitutes my only personal relationship with Senator TAFT on a matter of legislation. I think it displays his open-mindedness, his ready perception, his ability to arrive promptly at a far-reaching decision, his willingness to take a forthright stand and his capacity to obtain results.

Saturday, April 21, 1951, a congressional delegation, including Senator TAFT and myself, flew from Washington to Grand Rapids, Mich., to attend the funeral of Michigan's late great Senator Arthur Vandenberg, whose career, like Senator TAFT'S, was cut short at its zenith. This was at the time of President Truman's recall of General MacArthur.

On the plane, I stepped over to Senator TAFT, who was busily studying some papers, and asked him to look over a speech I intended to deliver in the House the following Monday. He smiled and asked me if he had to read it all.

The speech was entitled "An Affirmative American Foreign Policy." It advocated the establishment of a bipartisan commission charged with the duty of studying and mini-

mizing the hazards and obstacles inhibiting the natural economic forces which could, through the expansion of private overseas capital investment and foreign trade, develop the natural resources, and strengthen the economies of friendly free countries and promote the cause of the competitive free-enterprise system.

After a few minutes the Senator came over to me and said that he thought my approach was sound, that the suggestion ought to be carried out but that he doubted the Truman administration would be receptive to it.

Repeatedly during the 80th Congress, before the Foreign Affairs Committee and in the House itself, I tried, but unsuccessfully, to secure the adoption of my proposal.

This spring, after I had introduced similar legislation, H. R. 4199, in the 83d Congress, I sought out Senator TAFT in the Senate, reminded him of our conversation 2 years ago, went over the provisions of my bill with him and urged that he introduce a companion measure in the Senate. He recalled his previous approval of the idea but stated that before he took any action he would have to discuss the matter with President Eisenhower.

Of course, I do not know what happened between Senator TAFT and the President but in a series of messages to the Congress the President used language consistent with this approach to our foreign economic problems and on May 1, 1953, addressed a letter to Vice President Nixon and Speaker Martin urging the creation of a bipartisan commission on foreign economic policy.

That commission is now about to come into being. Its authorization is contained in title III of H. R. 5495 to extend the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act.

I am sure that Senator TAFT, quietly but effectively, had a great deal to do with making this commission a reality.

TAFT's political career can be epitomized as follows:

Qualities of human character are tested by adversity.

Bob Taft by hard work, courage, adhering to principle, but capable of adjusting opinions, made his way to the very top in public service only to be denied the highest honor and responsibility the American people can bestow.

His sportsmanlike assistance and devotion to the great rival who defeated him, portray a level of American statesmanship which will not soon be equaled.

Senator Taft's constancy in the face of criticism and conflict brings to my mind the speech of Nestor to the Greeks before Troy. Their attack had bogged down in stalemate. They were downhearted and depressed.

These are Shakespeare's immortal words:

In the reproof of chance lies the true proof of men.
The sea being smooth, how many shallow bauble boats
Dare sail upon her patient breast, making their way
With those of nobler bulk. But let the ruffian Boreas
Once enrage the gentle Thetis, and anon behold
The strong-ribbed bark through liquid mountains cut,
Bounding between the two moist elements
Like Perseus's horse. Where's then the saucy boat
Whose weak, untimbered sides but even now
Co-rivalled greatness? Either to harbor fled or
Made a toast for Neptune. Even so, doth valor's worth
From valor's show divide in storms of fortune.
For in her ray and brightness the herd
Hath more annoyance by the breeze than by the tiger.
But when the splitting wind makes flexible
The knees of knotted oaks and flies fled under shade,
Why, then the thing of courage, as roused with rage,
With rage doth sympathize, and with an
Accent tuned in self-same key, retorts to chiding Fortune.

Mr. GOODWIN. Mr. Speaker, one of the foremost statesmen of our time has been called from the activities of life. To that select list of illustrious Americans who by their experience and ability, by common consent of millions of our people, deserved to be elevated to the Presidency of the United States and who failed to achieve that distinction must be added the name of Robert A. Taft, and I am sure that no name in that list will continue to shine with greater luster as

the years of our national existence pass into history. The country can ill afford to lose his masterly leadership and unexampled capacity for public service at this time.

This generation will miss him and deplore the loss of his wise leadership in the councils of Government; and generations to follow, as they read the story of our Republic and its onward and upward path to prosperity and power, will never cease to place the name of ROBERT A. TAFT high on the roster of the Nation's great.

Mr. SIEMINSKI. Mr. Speaker, today a grateful Nation bows in solemn tribute. Today we mourn the loss of a dear friend. Tomorrow, page after page of his record comes alive. Memories make him more powerful than ever. A great American is dead. Senator TAFT served God and country.

The lesson of Senator TAFT? Manifold, paradoxical, unswerving in the truth as he saw it. Fighter. Man. Charitable. Champion. Friend of the balance sheets. Defender of the poor. Father of Federal housing. Scourge of the slums. Standup man.

Juggernauts cut him down? Like truth, crushed to earth, he rose again and again and again.

Today he is dead. But tomorrow, the record of the distinguished Senator, ROBERT TAFT, lives.

Mr. JENSEN. Mr. Speaker, I rise with a heavy heart to say a few words about my friend BOB TAFT, who has crossed the bar to his reward.

BOB TAFT was a wealthy man I have been told but he possessed virtues much more valuable than dollars for he was also a rich man, rich in the sense of enjoying the task of being always on guard to preserve that which he valued most, our God-given American heritage. Rich in kindness and goodness. Rich in the love of country. Rich in love for his good wife Martha, and his four fine sons. Rich in their love, respect and admiration for him. Rich in the love of God. Yes, Senator ROBERT A. TAFT was truly a rich man in all things big and fine and good in man.

Mr. WIGGLESWORTH. Mr. Speaker, I have followed with a heavy heart the illness of our coworker and leader, Senator TAFT. I have a deep sense of personal loss in his untimely death.

I have known BOB TAFT for almost 40 years. I have known him over the years as a true friend.

I recall his brilliant record at law school from which he graduated just ahead of me. I have followed his brilliant career as a lawyer; as a member of the House of Representatives in Ohio, of which he became the speaker; as a member of the Ohio senate; and as a Member of the United States Senate for the past 14 years.

I have observed him on three occasions as a candidate for the Presidency of the United States and have noted his outstanding work as majority leader of the Senate and as an adviser to the President.

I have known him at work and at play—in his home and in mine.

I have known him in success and in defeat.

He was great in victory. He was also great in defeat.

I well remember the Republican National Convention of 1940 at which he lost the nomination for the Presidency of the United States in the final voting when many of his supporters thought it was his. It was only about 30 minutes after his defeat that I saw him on the convention hall floor greeting everyone with a smile on his face.

"You're a wonderful loser, BOB," I said.

"Oh, it's all in a lifetime," he replied. "I have no complaints. I have 4 more years in the Senate and I am grateful for the opportunity for further service."

All who worked closely with him sensed his absolute integrity, his fine ability, his outstanding courage, and his comprehensive grasp of the details of National Government.

It was these qualities which led irresistibly to his rise to power and to a position which commanded the confidence of millions of Americans.

In his death the Nation has suffered a tremendous loss—a loss which it can ill afford at this critical time in the world's history.

I join in heartfelt sympathy to his devoted wife and family and to all those close to him.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, the death of Senator TAFT is a grievous loss to this Republic.

It was not my privilege to have been intimately acquainted with him, and, with others, I have disagreed with some of his views. But no man could question Senator TAFT'S integrity, ability, and courage to defend his convictions.

This Nation needs more, and not less, men in public life of his honesty and courage.

I join with my colleagues in the House in extending condolences to his widow and sons in this their hour of deepest sorrow.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Speaker, the Nation and the State of Ohio have lost a brilliant statesman, a man of exceptional ability, forthrightness, and the courage of his convictions. His leadership will be greatly missed. The State of Ohio, which has been justly proud of the achievements of its native sons, former President Taft and his illustrious son, Senator TAFT, has suffered a severe loss by the untimely death of its senior Senator.

I join with Members of Congress in extending to Mrs. Taft and members of the family my sincere sympathy.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. Speaker, it is with a deep sense of loss for our Nation that I join with my colleagues in memorial services today for one of the most outstanding Americans of our time, Senator ROBERT A. TAFT.

My best opportunity to know Senator TAFT came about through cooperation with him in the enactment of the Housing Act of 1949, previously known as the Taft-Ellender-Wagner bill, of which he was one of the authors and which I

sponsored in the House. I found Senator TAFT to have great human sympathy and understanding, which, with his firm adherence to the governmental principles in which he believed, made him try to find the way in which Government could be the instrument not only for governance but human betterment. He was, of course, well known to be a devoted adherent to limiting the powers of government and where he could see the interposition of government as essential to performing the moral obligation of the community he was just as vigorous in putting forward that thesis and implementing it as he was in opposing Government action or intervention where he believed the private sector should control. In short, he was a man of strong convictions but of deep understanding, as strong in his convictions on one side or the other of an issue, depending on his beliefs and undismayed by labels of liberal or conservative.

Millions of Americans understood and honored Senator TAFT as one of our most distinguished sons. He leaves his family, distinguished in its own right, a great heritage of love and devotion to our country and one of its ablest and most highminded servants.

Mr. EDMONDSON. Mr. Speaker, America has lost one of its great pillars of character and integrity in public life, in the passing of ROBERT TAFT.

It was not necessary to be a member of his party, or to know him personally, to appreciate his greatness.

Perhaps, from the viewpoint of the other side of the political fence, it was in some respects easier to comprehend his great stature.

Ohio's senior Senator was a man of high principle and strong convictions, and a man who fought with all his heart for the things in which he believed.

No man could question either his integrity, his sincerity, or his ability.

No American, with our Nation's traditional regard for good sportsmanship, can hesitate to salute his noble and generous spirit in political defeat.

He was a man who grew in defeat, and who won the admiration and abiding respect of his foes, as well as his friends.

The story of ROBERT TAFT will continue to be an inspiration to all men in public life through years to come, and he has won an enduring place in the history of his Nation.

Mr. REED of New York. Mr. Speaker, on July 31, 1953, the greatest American of this generation passed away. Those of us who were his friends have suffered a sickening personal loss which time will never erase. Many Americans who knew him only through the newspapers realize, perhaps instinctively, that they have lost their best and most dedicated friend in public life.

But I fear that it is only with the passing of time, when the sharp shock of grief has been dulled, that we will be able to understand the extent of our tragic loss. I fear that only when we are forced to try to fill the void that his death has left will we understand how vast that void really is. For BOB TAFT was truly a great man, and great men are few and far between.

What are the qualities of greatness? BOB TAFT had a passion for the facts. He had that rare quality of trying to see things as they are, not as one wishes they would be. Men in positions of great responsibilities, particularly, I am afraid in public life, often succumb, perhaps unconsciously, to the urge to see the facts in a manner which justifies their own beliefs. BOB TAFT never did. He was a realist. He sought the truth and when he had found it based his opinion squarely upon the facts.

This he was able to do not only because of his integrity, but because he was fortunate enough to have one of the finest minds of his time. Having led his class at college and

at law school, he constantly sharpened his superb intellectual and analytical powers. He had an uncanny, almost disconcerting, way of at once perceiving the heart of the issue and of stripping aside the immaterial and the irrelevant.

But these qualities alone do not make a man great in the sense that BOB TAFT was great. BOB TAFT's stature as a statesman was due primarily, I think, to other qualities: He was a man of principle and he was a man of courage. The principles which he believed in were simple ones. He believed in the Constitution and the Bill of Rights. He believed in freedom for the individual American. He believed in peace, and he believed in placing first the interests of America. We all, I suppose, subscribe to these beliefs in the abstract, but to BOB TAFT they were living, concrete principles of action. He was great because he could see current issues in the light of these principles, because he would not compromise them for the sake of temporary popularity and because he had the courage to act and speak in accordance with his beliefs.

Since BOB TAFT began his service in Washington, we have asked thousands of young Americans to lay down their lives, and we have spent billions of dollars only to let loose upon the world the horror of imperialistic communism. Saddled with oppressive taxation and with an enormous and growing public debt, we face a future which, we are told, has never been more uncertain. But we cannot say that we were not forewarned. For BOB TAFT told us in which direction we were going, and we failed to listen. The march of men's minds is slow, but today we are beginning to realize the deep wisdom of his advice.

That he has been taken from us at this critical hour, when we most need his sage counsel, is one of those dark tragedies which history records, but which only the Almighty can explain.

America today mourns the passing of her ablest, noblest, and most devoted son.

Mr. WOLVERTON. Mr. Speaker, words can never detract from or add to the stature of a really great man. Such applies to the case of our departed colleague Hon. ROBERT A. TAFT, senior Senator from the State of Ohio. His stature was so great that it gained for him the respect and admiration of friend and foe alike.

His fine character, great ability, unswerving allegiance to whatever he considered right and just, and his loyalty to his country will ever stamp him as a man of unusual stature.

His steadfastness for principle and his sincere belief that the Republican Party could and should be the agency through which sound principles of government might be established and his fidelity to the principles of his party earned for him the well-deserved title of "Mr. Republican."

Throughout his entire public life, in every position he occupied in State or national legislative bodies, he was a leader and acquitted himself in a manner that won the admiration of all.

Senator TAFT was the kind of man in public life who might well be an inspiration as well as an example to be emulated by all who have the desire to serve their fellow man in public office. His memory will ever linger among his countrymen as one of our great statesmen.

I include as part of my remarks a splendid editorial appearing in the August 1, 1953, issue of the Courier-Post newspaper of Camden, N. J., entitled "ROBERT A. TAFT—A Leader Who Said Only What He Thought Was Right, and Had the Courage To Say It." It reads in full as follows:

ROBERT A. TAFT—A LEADER WHO SAID ONLY WHAT HE THOUGHT WAS RIGHT, AND HAD THE COURAGE TO SAY IT

Senator ROBERT A. TAFT's death has caused deep sorrow all over America, even to those who fought him on many a political field.

Regardless of controversial issues—which he never dodged—he was universally regarded as a great American. He was the one figure in the present United States Senate of the stature of its titans of the past such as Clay, Webster, and Calhoun.

Mr. TAFT stood out first of all for his integrity and patriotism. His fellow Senators early in his service at Washington came to concede him primacy among them in intellect, hard work, and knowledge of the legislative processes.

Within a year after he entered the Senate, the Ohioan had risen to leadership in party councils and was making the first of three campaigns for the Presidency his father had held—all of them strong, but all destined to fail. The Adamses remain unique in our history as the only father and son to serve as Chief Executives.

Regardless of his defeats for the Presidency, his colleagues continued to look to Senator TAFT for guidance and leadership. He furnished it in abundance.

His leadership was not always followed; not, for instance, in foreign affairs, where his views seemed to tend toward isolationism and frequently conflicted with those of the Roosevelt, Truman, and Eisenhower administrations. He himself repudiated the isolationist label, some years ago abandoned the idea that the United States could live to itself, and supported international cooperation in many ways.

In impressing his views on domestic affairs Mr. TAFT was more successful. He was an authority on all major bills and the originator of many.

The name TAFT was always associated with conservatism in the public mind. He once described himself as a liberal conservative and is quoted in the August Fortune magazine as saying:

"A conservative is a man who will not change things until he studies things. The radical wants to change regardless. The conservative is more attentive to the status quo. * * * Most measures that I am considering are those that preserve the essence of personal liberty."

"The Federal Government," he said, "should have the power to spend money on its people's welfare, but not the power to regulate in those fields."

Former Republican National Chairman Carroll Reece, a close friend, once said "TAFT never had a burning ambition to be President." Fortune comments, that "may in fact be true. TAFT, who has never had any false modesty, simply felt that he would have been the best Republican for the job."

His party came close to agreeing three times, but never close enough. It came closest in 1952, when Mr. TAFT undoubtedly thought the prize was at hand. He might at that time have become embittered, and gave 1 or 2 indications that he had. But it is

eternally to his credit that he did not; that he eventually swallowed his defeat with magnificent grace and became Mr. Eisenhower's strong right arm on Capitol Hill.

As Senate majority leader, he fought ably and hard for the policies of the man who had defeated him, reserving the right to disagree on 1 or 2. He and the general-President came to be on the most cordial personal terms, each obviously recognizing and admiring in the other the sincerity of purpose and the integrity that characterized them both.

It may be true that no man is indispensable, but Senator TAFT will come as close as any could to being indispensable, so far as the Eisenhower administration is concerned. No one on the congressional scene can match his high talents as a leader, his fairness in giving consideration to all points of view, and his passing is a loss to the Nation, as well as to his party, Congress, and the administration.

Hindsight now tells us that it doubtless was fortunate he was not nominated and elected in 1952—and not merely because many thought he should not be President or that a better man won.

Had Mr. TAFT been elected, he would have served only a short while and been succeeded—by whom, under the haphazard way in which we nominate and elect our Vice Presidents? Thus, perhaps, the hand of providence, unseen as it was at the time, may have guided the actions of the 1952 convention.

In any event, today we mourn the passing of a great man—a man who was fearless in championing his beliefs and whose bedrock principles were those on which America was founded.

ROBERT A. TAFT was a great man because, like few among us, he said only what he thought was right and always had the courage to say it.

Mrs. FRANCES P. BOLTON. Mr. Speaker, the tragic news that Ohio's great Senator ROBERT A. TAFT was dead reached me in Holland, where I had just arrived to attend an international conference of scientists, philosophers, and scholars taking place in the lovely old university in historic Utrecht. Of course, my one thought was to return and I was fortunate enough to secure the last seat on a midnight tourist flight which brought me to Washington in time to pay my respects to the one man whom we as a nation felt we could not spare.

I returned to a Congress deeply shadowed by the loss of this great American. I saw the long lines of people paying him their last homage there in the rotunda of the Capitol. All of Washington was curiously hushed.

For many weeks the country has dreaded such a possible outcome of the illness which forced him to delegate his duties that he might give himself wholly to possible recovery. Perhaps never in our history have so many prayers gone up to heaven for the well-being of one man. But to no avail. His "orders" had come through and he accepted them with the same indomitable courage, the same undaunted spirit with which he has faced whatever life has given him.

To protect his loved ones to the greatest degree possible and then in some way to make his experience useful to all the world was so characteristically his first thought and his last effort.

History will write a fuller picture of this man than can be given now when emotion interferes with speech and beclouds the best efforts of objective thinking. But those who will write the true story of this era will need to know these emotions of ours, these first shocked reactions to the passing of this man who at this moment seems indispensable. They will need to know how suddenly insecure our whole situation seems to be, now that this man is no longer at the helm. Only so can they evaluate these days.

Few men in recent years have come to Washington so schooled in Government, so brilliantly prepared to deal with it. Standing foursquare upon the truth as he saw it, Bob Taft has shown a quality of thought and word and deed in all his service to his country which has made even his most violent enemies recognize him as a truly magnificent American.

Yes, we Ohioans did all we could to make him President. Then when the die was cast and the people had spoken, we found him even greater than we knew. We saw him gather

himself up to give selfless service to the man the people chose, that America might become herself again.

I wonder if anywhere in history there is a more splendid evidence of a man's love of country and his selfless determination to work in her best interests than this great American has given as leader in the Senate. Those who must now assume these responsibilities will do well to emulate him. They will do well to set aside their own single interests, thinking only of the welfare of the country to which he gave himself so completely.

It was so right, Mr. Speaker, that there should be the lying in state in the rotunda of the Capitol. It was so right that thousands upon thousands should bow their heads and say a last farewell as they passed by. It was so right that once the public tribute had been paid, Martha, who had been his inspiration and his constant first thought, and their four sons should take him home. Even as this Nation prayed for his recovery so do countless prayers go upward that to this Martha whom he so deeply loved there may be given strength and courage in her seeming aloneness. And may this Nation gird up its loins with fresh determination to be worthy of this man who, some 3 years ago, wrote:

> Our job is to run the Government so that—
>
> 1. The people and the individual retain true liberty;
> 2. All citizens are assured equal justice under law, that they may have life and liberty;
> 3. All citizens have equality of opportunity, particularly in their youth; and
> 4. All citizens have a standard of living which will make happiness possible.

Let us take up the torch he has laid down and with renewed faith and determination draw ever closer together in every effort we make as individuals, as Republicans and as Americans, that in unity we may find strength. And may the Infinite accept our service and bless our land.

Mr. KEOGH. Mr. Speaker, the whole Nation mourns the loss of a distinguished American and a devoted public servant. Senator ROBERT A. TAFT was a man of integrity, honesty, and courage who worked and fought for the principles in which he believed. It is unfortunate that the country has been deprived so tragically of his services at a time when men of experience and ability are greatly needed. While his views often encountered sincere and vigorous opposition, even his most determined adversaries acknowledged the sincerity of his expressed convictions. Senator TAFT was a man of faith—faith in America and in the Christian principles in which he believed and trusting always in the ultimate victory of right. He leaves behind a record of accomplishment achieved by few men. To his four fine sons he has left a rich heritage and to his widow the memory of a constantly devoted husband.

The State of Ohio has suffered the loss of a beloved son, the Senate has sustained the loss of a respected and outstanding Member, and the country has been deprived of a truly great American.

Mr. BENDER. Mr. Speaker, the essence of true statesmanship lies in the emphasis upon principle above expediency. An examination of the great leaders of our National Congress over the 164 years of our Republic's history reveals this characteristic in such men as the two Adamses, of Massachusetts, Washington and Henry, of Virginia, and a host of others from every one of the Original Colonies which participated in the Constitutional Convention. It has been equally true of such great Senators as Henry Clay, Daniel Webster, John Calhoun, and in our own day—ROBERT A. TAFT.

No one has done more to reestablish the rule of law above the considerations of temporary expediency than BOB TAFT. His words, "Liberty under law," represent one of the basic principles upon which this great country was built. They will not be forgotten. Every American who studies the

troubled history of this generation will remember the dramatic moment when President Truman urged Congress to conscript striking railroadmen into the Army as a means of breaking the deadlock in negotiations. One man rose to halt this invasion of our cherished human rights. That man was BOB TAFT. He spoke with the conscience of America, and the deed was not carried out.

BOB TAFT will be missed in Washington and in Ohio. He has left a legacy which history will record and generations yet to come will read with pride. No man can leave a better bequest to posterity.

Mr. BOSCH. Mr. Speaker, it was with great sorrow that I learned of the death of the Honorable ROBERT A. TAFT. The Senate has lost a great leader, and the United States has lost one of its greatest champions. The Steuben Society of America has long recognized the fine contributions to the history of this Nation made by Senator TAFT; therefore, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to insert in the Record an editorial from the August issue of the Steuben News, official bulletin of the Steuben Society of America.

The editorial follows:

ROBERT A. TAFT

When the news of the death of Senator ROBERT A. TAFT reached the American people, "Mr. Republican" became "Mr. American" and as such he will be remembered—and sorely missed—by nearly all of us.

He was truly American in his heritage, in his thoughts and in his deeds. He was as American as the Ohio River winding its way through the Queen City; as American as his forefathers in frugal and hardworking New England; as American as ever a man was on the rostrum of the United States Senate.

ROBERT A. TAFT was an aristocrat by name and descent. He was even more of a true aristocrat in his bearing, his rocklike integrity, his never-failing devotion to duty, and hard work.

ROBERT A. TAFT was an astute politician. But he never engaged in cheap politics, for the sake of political expediency. This made him indeed outstanding in our political treadmill on the Potomac River.

Those who knew him well, were aware of his fine human qualities as husband, father, and fellow-being. He was a man in the truest sense of the word. A man who rigidly stood fast in the face of hell and detraction. His life and his career were solidly founded on principles and those who called him "sometimes inconsistent," were and are utter fools—because only a fool is consistent.

The Presidency escaped "Mr. Republican." It went to a man with whom the Democrats would have also won. But "Mr. Republican" followed his creed of duty and work and steered the new Congress and the new administration with rare skill and utter devotion to the Chief Executive—until death called him.

ROBERT A. TAFT, "Mr. American," has his place in American history. In these days of stress and strain, we may learn all too soon how eminently right he was when he spoke—a true chevalier sans peur et sans reproche—to the America which he loved and cherished so deeply.

Mr. McCONNELL. Mr. Speaker, the rapid physical deterioration and death of Senator TAFT startled and shocked the American people.

It was my personal privilege to be closely associated with him during the last few months of his life in meetings and conferences which had been called to consider changes in the Taft-Hartley law. It was apparent to us that he was a very sick man.

I shall never forget his courageous efforts to carry on and contribute ideas from the great storehouse of his mind. He was patient and reasonable at a time when his pain and suffering could have caused him to be tense and impatient.

As I look back and recall his actions during those many conferences, my respect and admiration for him continues to increase. I became more aware than ever of some of the reasons for his high standing and the pronounced impact of his personality on national affairs. His courage and tenacity of purpose were two qualities that all who came in close contact with him appreciated sincerely.

That he will be missed is obvious to all. That he will be remembered as a fine person, a reasonable individual, and a true patriot, none can deny.

Personally, I feel that his passing has left a great void in our national life.

Mr. JENKINS. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. Brown].

Mr. BROWN of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, those of you here, and there are many of you, who know of the warm personal friendship and the close political association which bound Senator TAFT and I together for so many years can appreciate how difficult it is for me to stand here today, for my heart is indeed heavy with sadness and with grief.

For more than one-third of a century I had the privilege of knowing BOB TAFT as few men have had the opportunity to know another man.

As a young Lieutenant Governor of Ohio back in 1920, I joined with the Republican leaders of his home county in urging BOB TAFT to become a candidate for a seat in the House of Representatives of the Ohio General Assembly. I watched him as he demonstrated his great ability and his outstanding leadership in those early days to quickly become the speaker of the house of representatives.

Soon thereafter he was called upon to serve in the Ohio Senate where he led the fight to give to our State the tax reforms for which it had been struggling for more than 50 years. His ability and leadership in that tax reform struggle throughout Ohio brought him statewide recognition, so that in 1936 he was designated as Ohio's favorite son candidate for the Presidency. At the convention in Cleveland he withdrew his name in behalf of party harmony. But in 1938 those of us who were his friends in Ohio joined with him in what many then considered a hopeless campaign to obtain the nomination, and later election, to the United States Senate.

It was in those days that the famous political team of BOB and Martha came into existence. Martha, with her brilliant mind and charming manner, joined with the Sen-

ator in campaigning every corner of Ohio to win the victory which surprised so many people of the Nation, and even many in Ohio.

His service in the United States Senate was just as outstanding as his service in the Ohio Legislature, and it caused his friends, not only in Ohio but throughout the Nation, to urge him to seek the presidential nomination in 1940. He lost that nomination, as many of you know, by a very close vote. He was the close runner-up to the nominee, Wendell Willkie, who he loyally supported in the campaign which followed.

He was reelected to the Senate in 1944, and in 1947 became the Republican floor leader of the United States Senate, where he again demonstrated by the brilliance of his mind, his great grasp and understanding of the national problems, and his unusual ability to attract and bind men to him so they would gladly and willingly follow his leadership.

In 1948, at the urging of people all over America, he again sought the presidential nomination of his party. At that time he paid to me the greatest tribute I ever received in my years of public service when he asked me to become the manager of his campaign. Once more he lost the nomination for the Presidency by a very narrow margin.

If I could digress for just a moment to tell you something of the humility and the greatness, the thoughtfulness and the understanding, of Bob Taft I would like to tell you this little incident at the 1948 Philadelphia Convention. When it became evident that he could not be nominated Bob talked to several of us and reached the decision he should withdraw his name and urge the nomination of Governor Dewey. Senator Bricker, as the chairman of the Ohio delegation, was requested to carry that message to the convention, as you will all recall. Mrs. Brown and I did not feel very happy at that moment, and I suggested to her that perhaps we should go back to the hotel and be with Bob and Martha in those rather trying hours. We went first to our own rooms,

and when we opened our door there sat BOB TAFT alone, waiting for our return. He said, "I thought you would come back to the hotel, and I wanted to be here to thank you for all that you have done and to cheer you up and to tell you that you must not be downhearted. We must carry on despite the defeat." That was BOB TAFT, not thinking of himself, but of his friends.

In 1949, speaking before a meeting of the Republican National Committee here in Washington, I described BOB TAFT as the very personification of the spirit and the principles of the Republican Party. At that time I gave him the name "Mr. Republican" by which he became known throughout the length and breadth of the land, so that every man, woman, and child called him by that name. And he truly was Mr. Republican, and Mr. Republican he shall always remain in the hearts and memories of all of us.

In 1952 he again sought the presidential nomination, only to lose by the narrowest of margins, and to again demonstrate that he was greater in defeat than most men could possibly be in victory, because within a matter of minutes after that nomination was made, and I sat with him in those hours of defeat, he publicly appeared with the convention's nominee, General Eisenhower, and pledged him his loyalty and his support. You all know how, as the majority leader of the Senate, he supported this administration loyally and faithfully, as long as his strength would permit.

I was with BOB TAFT, as most of my Ohio colleagues were, on the night in 1950 that Martha, his beloved wife, was stricken. I know of the long hours he spent with her during the crisis, and how he never failed to visit her in the hospital 2 or 3 times a day after she began to improve. I know, too, how she urged him to go ahead in the campaign of 1950 for reelection to the Senate, and how, despite the fact that he often spoke as many as 15 to 20 times a day he never failed a single evening or night to telephone Martha regardless

of the lateness of the hour, to tell her what had gone on that day.

If I would have to describe BOB TAFT, our beloved BOB TAFT, in a single word, I would choose the word "character," because he displayed character in both his public and private life, unequaled in our time. He was the most able legislator and the greatest stateman of our generation. He was Ohio's most distinguished son. He was my closest and most loyal friend.

To his beloved wife, Martha, and to his 4 fine sons, William Howard, Robert A., Jr., Lloyd, and Horace, I join with all of you in extending sincerest sympathy, and the hope that divine providence will sustain them in their great loss.

He has left to his family the priceless heritage of a good name, and to his untold thousands, yes, millions of friends, many precious memories.

BOB TAFT now walks with God, but he will continue to live forever in the hearts of his countrymen.

Mr. JENKINS. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. Bender].

Mr. BENDER. Mr. Speaker, I first met BOB TAFT when I served with him as an Ohio State senator. He immediately became the giant of the Ohio Senate. His thoroughness, his honesty, his understanding of issues was apparent to everyone.

BOB TAFT was a thoroughbred and was a thoroughgoing gentleman, in public as well as in private life.

It was my privilege as a Congressman at Large for six terms and as a candidate to participate in every campaign in Ohio. BOB TAFT campaigned throughout Ohio even when he was not a candidate.

BOB TAFT never hit below the belt. He was a clean fighter. He was a tireless worker. BOB TAFT was never satisfied to do a halfway job. I recall the campaign of 1950 when almost

everyone felt that Bob Taft could not be reelected. He went out to win, and we covered the State. He spoke in every small town and on every college campus. He answered questions. He was the most unorthodox public speaker known. He was not afraid to be questioned. He welcomed questions. Even if his schedule was heavy and he spoke on many an occasion 10 to 15 times a day, and even if the town was small, perhaps they had only 300 people there, the whole population would turn out—he would not do a halfway job. He covered the whole waterfront. His friends became impatient with Bob Taft because they felt he was wearing himself out. But that was Bob Taft. He carried the State in that campaign with a majority of over 430,000 votes.

Bob Taft did not care for ostentation. When he had a press conference and the photographers wanted to take his picture, he would almost push them aside not because he was discourteous, but because he wanted to answer questions. It was my good fortune to work with him and for him many times. I was in charge of enthusiasm at three national conventions for Bob. Time and again Bob would call me and say, "Now, George, hold it down. Hold it down." In the 1952 presidential campaign at Chicago, you could not hold it down; Bob Taft had captured the popular imagination to such a degree that people from all over the country came and volunteered. It did not cost a cent to put on a demonstration for Bob Taft except for a few placards and cards and a very small band. We had as many as 40 demonstrations going on simultaneously at Chicago. We could not stop them. As a matter of fact, until as late as 2 and 3 o'clock in the morning, young people and old people from all over the country would gather and join in the enthusiasm. At Chicago in that convention hall, it required 2½ times as much ice to keep the place cool during the Taft demonstration. It was not a synthetic affair. It was a genuine demonstration of appreciation for a great statesman.

Mr. Speaker, it was a pleasure to sing Onward Christian Soldiers and it was a pleasure to sing that great hymn, the Battle Hymn of the Republic, and the Four Leaf Clover, because the people felt that way about BOB TAFT.

This morning every newspaper from Maine to California in their No. 1 editorial extolled his virtues. Pages and pages of photographs and biographical material were devoted to his life and his work. It will be a long time before we have another BOB TAFT. He and his wife, Martha, captured the popular imagination because of their good works. They knew that there is no substitute for hard work and being honest with the people. They were both good sports. The best evidence of the sportsmanship of the Tafts was the way in which they responded before and after the election of President Eisenhower. Since the President's inauguration his chief counselor was Senator TAFT.

His boundless energy, his intellectual capacity, his parliamentary skill were placed at the disposal of the American people in the United States Senate. There a place of honor for BOB TAFT in American history has been assured. When he spoke, both the majority and the minority listened. Press galleries were crowded. Visitors from every section of our country carried a memorable recollection of an unwavering American voice back to their homes. Throughout the Nation, within the Republican Party, on both sides of the Atlantic, BOB TAFT was "Mr. Republican." He stood before the Senate time and time again to demand loyalty to fundamental American ideals when the emotional fury of the moment threatened to sweep them away. No one can forget the dramatic hour when President Truman came before Congress asking for authority to induct striking railroad workers into the Armed Forces in an effort to break their resistance. It was BOB TAFT, the Republican leader, the man who was determined to preserve the Constitution, who stopped the stampede. He insisted with the wisdom and the logic of the Founding Fathers that this was tyranny at a time when

temperate judgment was required. Bob Taft's voice rang clear and eloquent on that occasion. It was heard above the clamor and the fear and the day-to-day improvising of the National Government.

Here was the man for this difficult time in world history. In an era when two great ideas are contending for the leadership of mankind. We are committed to the proposition that all men are equal, that they are endowed by our Creator with inalienable rights, that no government, whatever may be its form, can deprive us of these rights. Abroad in the world is a concept of life based upon a materialistic premise. It knows no God-given rights, since its acknowledges no God. It insists that all men must bow to a Government-dictated, Government-without-challenge, plan of conduct. On this basis, individuals count for nothing. They may be regulated, controlled, moved, like chessmen on a board, and they have no resort to any higher authority. We have seen this dogma in operation for hundreds of years. It was once embodied in the technique of absolute monarchy. Today it has adopted a new cloak, the blood-red robes of communism. In our own Nation, we have not been immune to this authoritarian program which substitutes the simplicity of force for the complexities of reason. One man has stood firmly and confidently against the indefinite continuation of these changes in our way of life because he has recognized them for what they are—attacks upon the structure of our social, economic, and political framework, attacks which could destroy what America has always represented in the world of ideas. Bob Taft not only championed this cause, but also far more consistently than most American leaders, he never tired of emphasizing its importance.

Here was a man who campaigned on big issues because he made them big.

No man in America stood up more courageously to the arguments of the former administration because he never bowed to them.

BOB TAFT fought Federal bureaucracy for years.

BOB TAFT challenged the foreign policy of this Government and proposed constructive alternatives for years. BOB TAFT cut the burdens of Federal taxation because he knew where and how and when to cut, without injury to our domestic economy or jeopardy to our foreign commitments.

The loss of Senator TAFT is one of the greatest tragedies to befall our country in recent years. No man has ever served his people with greater love and devotion to duty than BOB TAFT. Those of us who knew him in private life, as well as in his public service, know that he is irreplaceable both in the United States Senate and in the hearts of the people.

BOB TAFT restored integrity to the American Government because he was its symbol. He fought the good fight for principle, not popularity.

We owe it to him and to the American principles for which he fought and lived and died to carry on as he did for us. I am certain that I speak for people of every political group and all shades of opinion in conveying to his family the deep regret with which we view his departure. We shall miss him greatly in the difficult days still ahead.

Mr. JENKINS. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the distinguished gentleman from Ohio [Mr. Crosser].

Mr. CROSSER. Mr. Speaker, it has been said that earnest devotion to one's highest conception of right is the most perfect expression of life. All will agree, I am sure, that Senator TAFT was earnestly devoted to the cause he believed to be right.

I frequently disagreed with Senator TAFT, but I would not regard myself as a magnanimous adversary if, because of such difference of opinion, I were to entertain a feeling of enmity against him because of such disagreement. That surely would not indicate tolerance.

I knew the Senator's father better than I knew Senator TAFT. William H. Taft, the Senator's father, was one of my

teachers. He was also the dean of Cincinnati Law School where he also taught real property and I was a member of his class. He was a man of kindly and pleasing personality, I can assure you. He really did not care to be President and was not altogether adapted to the rough and tumble of politics. He was, however, a great lawyer and a great judge.

The family of ROBERT TAFT have suffered a severe loss. There is little we can do to lessen their sorrow. I do quote by way of comforting them the words of America's famous poet, Longfellow, who said:

There is no death. What seems so is transition.

We can all go on our way therefore, feeling that we have lost for a time a companion and that although we differed frequently, we knew him to be a kind and truthful man.

Let me close this very brief statement with the quotation which follows:

For whatever men say in their blindness,
In spite of the fancies of youth,
There's nothing so kingly as kindness,
And nothing so royal as truth.

Mr. JENKINS. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. Clevenger].

Mr. CLEVENGER. Mr. Speaker, many beautiful things have been said about our distinguished colleague who has just left us.

Yesterday I was overcome with a sense of grief. I have a different feeling this morning, one of exaltation.

The thing I remember most about BOB TAFT is that it was in my district when he and I became candidates almost simultaneously, and where he made his first political speech outside of the city. I can remember what might be described almost as his fear of a country crowd. But I remember the affection that they showed for him and the affection that the older ones expressed for his father seemed to arouse in

Bob a disbelief that these people really took him to their heart.

I remember later on in this bitter campaign that he and I went through together in 1950, that he started again up in my district, which is in the northwest corner of the State, and is the natural place to begin, up there against the great neighbor States of Michigan and Indiana. He went through three or four of my northern counties. I went with him.

I will never forget the busloads of junior and senior high school students who were brought to the county seat and to Montpelier, a town in my county where he addressed all these people. In the heat of this campaign, when every sort of abuse was heaped upon him, I never saw him lose his temper. He was answering questions of boys and girls who are interested in American Government. There are thousands of these boys and girls who will never forget that in 1950 Bob Taft came up there and visited with them, just like one of the family, like the great father that he was. But he was more like a big brother to all of these schoolchildren.

He had missed three of my southern counties and one of Mr. McGregor's, in covering the State of Ohio, and one morning he called me and said, "Cliff, I am going back out. I missed Mercer County in the Fourth District, and your three southern counties. Can you go out with me?"

He had not forgotten the last three counties that he had missed the previous time. He was threatened, he was abused, and yet he walked into places where he was told he would not be safe and he came out victorious. They found out that after all an American workman is just another American like you and I. He came out with a majority of support in every one of the industrial districts stirred up by leaders who wanted to make political capital out of the situation, but he came out with their confidence and their friendship.

No greater compliment can be paid to the personality of a man than the fact that he could walk into a factory where he was threatened with violence and come out with a majority

of them voting for him and cheering for him. He carried every industrial district in our State. But I will never forget the great lesson that he gave to me how Americans hungered for knowledge, how they had been neglected so seriously in most of our schools through a lack of teaching of our history and of our great institutions. These young people, practically all of the high-school and junior-high-school boys and girls of Ohio heard him personally and shook his hand and could ask him questions.

Today I feel a spirit of exaltation that this great personality triumphs over death and lives in the hearts not only of millions in his own State but in this Nation.

Mr. JENKINS. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. Hays].

Mr. HAYS of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, thousands of words of most highly deserved praise will be said and printed and have been said and printed in eulogy of Senator TAFT. May I simply say that Ohio has lost one of her most outstanding sons and the Nation one of its ablest leaders in the intricate field of government.

As a Democrat may I say that I believe there is not a Democrat in Ohio but who feels as I do. I have always had the greatest and most profound admiration for the honesty, the ability, the forthrightness, and the integrity of Senator TAFT.

May I extend to Mrs. Taft and the members of his family my deepest sympathy in their hour of grievous loss.

Mr. JENKINS. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. Vorys].

Mr. VORYS. Mr. Speaker, this is a grievous loss to our Republic. We need BOB TAFT now. We have missed him during his illness; we will miss him for a long time to come. It is rare in human history that it can be said of a man that no one could take his place, but ROBERT A. TAFT is irreplaceable now. With his unsurpassed prestige and moral power

based on his great mind and unswerving integrity he leaves a gap that will never quite be filled.

The Taft and the Vorys families have known each other a long time, ever since my father managed Bob Taft's father's presidential campaign in Ohio 45 years ago. Thirty years ago I served in the Ohio State Legislature with Bob Taft when I was a law student. I learned in those days of his ability and character that are now known throughout the world. That summer I had my first law case as an associate of his, a case in the Supreme Court.

Two years later he put through the Ohio House of Representatives the budget law which I introduced in the Ohio Senate.

We came to Washington the same year, when he was elected to the Senate and I was elected to the House in 1938. We both have served here ever since. I have worked closely with him at times. We did not always agree, but his strong, clear thinking always influenced my decisions.

The world knows a great deal about his career, his character, and his views, but certain things about him are not so well known: his shyness that was often mistaken for coldness; his great tender devotion to his wife and his whole family; his chuckling sense of humor, his great capacity for teamwork in solving legislative problems.

In the history of this century no finer, nobler chapter will be written than the story of his selfless, loyal and effective support of the man who had deprived him of his own lifetime ambition, the story of Bob Taft and President Eisenhower in the last year.

The memory of his work, his greatness in defeat, his patience in suffering and misfortune, will live on not only in this generation who knew him but in generations yet unborn.

My heart goes out to Martha and their fine sons, his brother, and all of his fine family, who knew him, and loved him, and who suffer sorrow, in ways none of us can know.

But in our sorrow, in our questioning as to why this awful tragedy had to come, let us be comforted and grateful that the Lord gave us such a man.

Mr. JENKINS. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. McGregor].

Mr. McGREGOR. Mr. Speaker, I join with the freedom-loving people of the world in mourning the passing of Senator Bob Taft. I could talk for hours and yet not cover the many good things that Bob Taft has done for the people of this country. It has been my privilege to know both him and his good wife, Martha, for many years. Never have I seen a more devoted couple, not only to themselves but to their family and their friends. These two great people have given their all in the cause of justice and right.

Senator Taft's integrity and loyalty to his friends and to the principles in which he believed will cause him to gain stature as time goes on. He was not expendable. He was one who was always willing to help a friend whenever that individual needed his assistance and counsel.

I think he can be described best in this way:

When a man ain't got a cent and he's feeling kind o' blue,
An' the clouds hang dark an' heavy an' won't let the sunshine through,
It's a great thing, oh, my brethren, for a feller just to lay
His hand upon your shoulder in a friendly sort o' way!
It makes a man feel curious, it makes the teardrops start,
An' you sort o' feel a flutter in the region of the heart;
You can't look up and meet his eyes—you don't know what to say
When his hand is on your shoulder in a friendly sort o' way.
Oh, the world's a curious compound, with its honey and its gall,
With its care and bitter crosses, but a good worl' after all;
An' a good God must have made it—leastways that is what I say
When a hand is on my shoulder in a friendly sort o' way.

Bob Taft was that individual who put his hand upon thousands and thousands of shoulders in his endeavor to be of assistance.

Mrs. McGregor joins with me in expressing to the family our sympathy and prayers in this hour of their bereavement.

Mr. JENKINS. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. Reams].

Mr. REAMS. Mr. Speaker—

God moves in a mysterious way His wonders to perform.

The truthfulness of those familiar lines has never impressed me with more force than on the passing of Senator ROBERT A. TAFT. By all of our human standards he should not be taken from us at this time. He is more needed in American public life today than ever before in his long and distinguished career. Never before has his strong, steady hand, his clear thinking, his abundant knowledge, his forthright speech, his dynamic energy, and his tremendous will to serve his country been so needed and so desired by the people of his beloved Nation.

I shall never forget my first personal contact with ROBERT A. TAFT. It was more than 20 years ago. He was then chairman of the Finance Committee of the Senate of the Ohio General Assembly. I was a member of a civic group which had called upon him to discuss a matter of appropriation by the Ohio Legislature. There were differences of opinion. They were expressed in clearcut and vigorous language on both sides. State Senator TAFT did not agree to our request, but I came away from that meeting with an everlasting belief in his honesty of thought and integrity of purpose and will to carry out his public trust without fear or favor. My belief in the high qualities of the young statesman which were formed at that time resolved themselves into an abiding conviction which has increased as time and opportunities have tested them.

Through the years that have followed since this first meeting with ROBERT A. TAFT, our personal contacts have been frequent and cordial. Even though there have been times that I have not agreed with his approach to the changing

problems which faced this Government, there has never been an instance when I did not believe deeply in the genuineness and the sincerity of the man and his ability. I have admired the firmness with which he announced his position and the courage with which he stood by it.

Our State has lost a most distinguished citizen. The Congress is bereft of its great leader. The Nation is in mourning for a statesman who will stand high on the roll of the greatest men of this Nation dating from the very beginning of this Government.

I extend my most sincere sympathy and understanding to his brave and capable wife, partner, and helpmeet in the thrilling adventure in living which they enjoyed together for so many years, and to his sons. The Nation and our State of Ohio share with them the grief and the loss of this truly great public servant, who was at the same time a husband and father in the very finest meaning of those words.

Mr. JENKINS. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. McCulloch].

Mr. McCULLOCH. Mr. Speaker, I, too, wish to join in paying a brief tribute to the great Senator from Ohio who just passed away, the Honorable ROBERT A. TAFT. We have lost a great and good man. Few men in the history of America have measured up to Senator ROBERT A. TAFT. Although the highest gift in the power of the American people was denied him, he became even greater in such denial. Without rancor or without resentment, he gave his great ability to his President and to his country. Like Lincoln, his life ended far too soon.

Mr. Speaker, I wish to express my deepest sympathy to his beloved and devoted wife, Martha, and to his four sons.

Mr. JENKINS. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. Weichel].

Mr. WEICHEL. Mr. Speaker, with the passing of the Honorable ROBERT A. TAFT, the senior Senator from Ohio, the Nation lost a great statesman and Ohio one of its most distinguished sons.

It was with sadness that I learned of his passing for especially during the war period and its aftermath, he gave untiringly of his great ability to preserve and keep alive the principles that made America. His supereffort put forth during these troubled days surely took much from his physical strength. It was a privilege to serve in the Congress with our most distinguished colleague from Ohio. He was especially considerate of new Members of the Congress, and I shall not forget his warmth of friendship and help extended to me as a freshman in the Congress.

His continuity in the Senate is a glowing tribute of the high esteem in which he was held by the citizens of Ohio.

He will be long remembered as a great legislator and a statesman whose interest was for the people of the country in preserving the principles that made America, and I join with my colleagues in mourning the passing of the most distinguished Member and statesman in the Congress who lived solely to preserve America.

I extend my deepest sympathy to his devoted family.

Mr. JENKINS. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. Secrest].

Mr. SECREST. Mr. Speaker, I could not let this opportunity pass without saying something on the death of what I consider one of the greatest men America has ever had.

I met Senator TAFT first in January 1931. I was a member of the house of representatives in the State Legislature of Ohio and he was a member of the State senate. He was chairman of the finance committee and I was a member of the taxation committee. In that year we redrafted every tax law upon the statute books of Ohio. A hundred times I have been in a conference committee with him, some of them last-

ing for hours. I have seen him postpone a meeting of the conferees when because of the absence of a member or two he could have won a point in which he sincerely believed, but he would not hold that meeting until the man or men who opposed him could be there. Oftentimes he lost because he was so fair and so honest. I think that every day of his life from the days of the legislature he has followed as near as man could the principles of the teachings of Jesus Christ.

Dozens of times I have shared the platform with him in my district at homecomings and other gatherings. From 1939, when he entered the Senate, until I resigned from this Congress in July 1942 and since my return to this Congress in 1949 I have gone to him in the Senate many times. If a bill passed of which I was the author or in which I had great interest, I immediately, within an hour, looked him up on the Senate floor or in his office and gave him a brief upon it. Then I could forget it. He worked as hard for that bill in the Senate as I had worked for it in the House, and never did I have anything passed in those years in this House that did not also pass the Senate.

Last year a dam washed out in the Muskingum River in my district, in the center of my biggest city. It was a tragic situation. The appropriation bill for flood control had already passed the House. I immediately went to Senator TAFT and presented the problem to him. He said, "I will see Senator Knowland and I will see others." And he did, and the appropriation was placed in the bill and the House conferees agreed to it.

He was anxious to serve, and he did serve, every segment and every corner of the State of Ohio. Personally, I considered him the balance wheel in the United States Senate in this session of Congress, and I considered him the balance wheel of the United States Government. I think his influence was felt, and I think he will be missed in the years to come. Ohio is proud of her Presidents, of which we have had many, and I predict this day so long as the name of President

McKinley, President Taft, and others are remembered in Ohio and in this Nation alongside them will be remembered Senator BOB TAFT. His contribution to our times was great. I miss him as a personal friend, but I think the country will miss him to a far greater degree than any of us who feel a sense of personal loss. He was a great American. I could not let this hour pass without saying so.

Mr. JENKINS. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. Auchincloss].

Mr. AUCHINCLOSS. Mr. Speaker, it is difficult to express one's feelings when a friend of over 45 years' standing passes on, but it is impossible to put into words the emotions and thoughts that rise when that friend has, throughout his lifetime, been a devoted servant of the people. That is the feeling I have in attempting to say something in eulogy of a great American, Senator ROBERT A. TAFT.

His entire lifetime was devoted to the service of the people in one capacity or another and during all that period there was never one single breath of scandal against him. Many people disagreed with BOB TAFT and fully expressed their views in opposition to his, but they always found him to be fair, although relentless in his argument, and with a heart full of good will in spite of the disagreement. His sportsmanship was outstanding, and time and again in the face of disappointment he showed it to the consternation of his opponents and to the admiration of everyone.

BOB TAFT was a graduate of Yale University, where I knew him many years ago. In the chapel on the campus at Yale is a memorial with the inscription, "Though much is taken, much abides." I feel today we should think of that text and take heart, for although in BOB TAFT's passing much has been taken, yet much abides—his character; his example of service; his deep love for his country; his willingness to serve and to speak his mind freely for what he considered constructive and in the best interests of the United States; his

fortitude in the face of disappointment; and his courage which will always be an inspiration to those who are depressed and downhearted; "much abides."

Bob Taft's memory as a great statesman will linger long throughout the days to come and history will record him as one of the outstanding citizens of our great Republic. My warmest and deepest sympathy goes to his widow and his family and I pray God that their sorrow may be lightened in the knowledge of his wonderful life of devoted service to his country and loyalty to his friends.

Mr. JENKINS. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the distinguished gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. Priest].

Mr. PRIEST. Mr. Speaker, in a very real sense, Senator Robert Taft needs no eulogy. Regardless of how well words may be woven into eloquent rhetoric, they are still weak in comparison with great deeds and great actions and great character. In the passing of Senator Taft, I feel that the country and the Congress and the councils of free men have suffered a very great loss.

In his death there has been taken from the arena of public service a vigorous and vital mind, a stalwart character, a courageous soul.

I had the privilege during the last 12 years many times of sitting on conference committees with Senator Taft, dealing with legislation that came out of the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, particularly legislation in the field of health. Each time I went into such conference I came out of it more and more impressed with the greatness of his mind and the honesty of his mind. I did not always agree with him in conference, but I always knew what he believed and I knew why he believed it. I often found it hard to escape the logic of his conclusions and the wisdom of his viewpoint. Out of that experience I developed a deep admiration for Senator Taft and his death brings to me a sense of personal loss.

No mound of earth can still the voice of Senator TAFT. I think in the days ahead in this Congress and many Congresses to come we shall still feel the compulsion of his presence like a voice out of a "great cloud of witnesses."

In his quiet passing at the very peak of such a vigorous, vital, and rich life, I think of the lines from Tennyson's Crossing the Bar:

Sunset and evening star,
And one clear call for me.
And may there be no moaning of the bar,
When I put out to sea.
But such a tide as moving seems asleep,
Too full for sound and foam,
When that which drew from out the boundless deep
Turns again home.
Twilight and evening bell,
And after that the dark.
And may there be no sadness of farewell,
When I embark;
For though from out our bourne of time and place
The flood may bear me far,
I hope to see my Pilot face to face
When I have crossed the bar.

Mr. JENKINS. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. Betts].

Mr. BETTS. Mr. Speaker, the Nation today has lost a great patriot and a great statesman. He was a personal friend of mine and his passing is a deep personal loss.

Probably never before in the history of our country has a defeated candidate for the Presidency contributed so much help to the administration of his opponent as did Senator TAFT. This was because he was interested in principles more than his own personal gain. Honor and integrity were as much a part of him as his outstanding ability.

It will be a long time before anyone will take the place of ROBERT A. TAFT. In the meantime history will give him a place among the great men, not only of our own country but of the world.

Mr. JENKINS. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. Bow].

Mr. BOW. Mr. Speaker, I wish to associate myself with my colleagues who have spoken in tribute of our distinguished Senator, the senior Senator from Ohio, ROBERT A. TAFT.

Mr. JENKINS. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Nebraska [Mr. Curtis].

Mr. CURTIS of Nebraska. Mr. Speaker, a pillar of the Republic has fallen. BOB TAFT was a giant in our midst. He was great in mind, ability, character, and principle. No one will take his place.

Mr. TAFT'S illness caused all to realize that he was loved by millions. I wish to extend my remarks by including a copy of a letter I wrote to Senator TAFT on July 22, 1953.

Hon. ROBERT A. TAFT,
New York Hospital,
New York, N. Y.

MY DEAR SENATOR: I have followed all the reports in the newspaper concerning you. I want you to know that through these weeks of your illness, Mrs. Curtis and I have been thinking of you. We sincerely hope that the rest you plan to take will prove very beneficial and that when you come back to us in January you will have an abundance of renewed strength and vigor. I am sure that will be the case.

A short while ago I made a trip from Washington to Nebraska and return. It happened at a time when your name was in the paper a great deal in connection with your hospitalization. You just do not have any idea as to how many friends you have. Everywhere I went on that trip, whether it be a discussion on the plane, in the taxi, in hotels, or in the homes of friends, everyone asked about you. They praised the great work that you were doing. They expressed their hopes and prayers for your speedy recovery. I was so deeply impressed by this spontaneous expression from every quarter, from people in every walk of life, that I wanted to convey my report to you.

Please do not bother to have this letter answered. I did want you to have this report concerning the good wishes of these countless followers of yours.

Sincerely,

CARL T. CURTIS.

Mr. JENKINS. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. Reece].

Mr. REECE of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, with the news of the passing of that great American, Senator ROBERT A. TAFT, a pall of gloom settled over the Capitol.

There is a poignant feeling everywhere of universal loss. The sorrow of the people is complete.

In his passing, the Nation has lost a highly honored leader, and I a noble friend. In the highest and noblest sense of the word, BOB TAFT was my friend.

Heavy and bewildered, indeed, are the hearts of us who are left behind on Capitol Hill. Only a few days ago, he was passing among us, and was participating in conferences and in the tumult of debate on important legislation.

Now his form is strangely still. Never again will those penetrating eyes of his peer at us and through us. He has left us puny mortals behind as his spirit soars off into space with the immortals. For him there is only peace and calm—the final fulfillment of God's promised reward for all who obey His precepts.

Most men have to die ere they earn the spoken esteem of their fellows. Senator TAFT had that esteem all the years of his life. Here on the Hill and throughout the Nation, men honored him, respected him, and found him all that was good—and all that was human perfection. By trial and error, by victory and defeat, his character had become a sweet and noble thing. No man in the history of this Republic had as many devoted friends over the reaches of the Republic.

He was one of those rare types of beings—a man whom Almight God Himself must have qualified for public service. He might have taken for his own that knightly motto of the Middle Ages—"Ich Dien!"—I serve.

For all of ROBERT A. TAFT's life was consecrated to public service and welfare. His every action was for the common good. There never was a sordid thought in his mind for per-

sonal reward. Nigh 30 years of his life was freely and gladly given to his State and his country. His life, more than that of any man in history, symbolized honesty and integrity in public life and private life.

ROBERT A. TAFT had but one ambition in life, and that was the single ambition to serve his people and his God. It guided him in all his motives and movements. The disappointments he experienced at Philadelphia and again at Chicago arose because of what he thought was the loss of a greater opportunity for service to this Republic—and in the disappointment of his friends.

He discussed his feelings on this with me many times, and I know how he felt. Senator TAFT, despite his penetrating intellect, had a modesty and sweetness about him that was unbelievable.

In the State house in Ohio, he left a fine record in the annals of that State.

As a Member of the United States Senate, he leaves behind him a distinguished record of service, which few, if any, men have ever equaled or ever will equal.

As majority leader he gave dignity to the position, and won the respect and admiration of Democrat and Republican alike, by his fairness, great ability, and uncanny capacity to fathom complicated legislative problems.

He might have been with us today except for his untiring zeal and his interest in the problems which now confront the Nation.

A tireless worker, he burned his body out in devotion to public service. It was nothing for him to work 12 or 15 hours a day without rest.

It can be said of him, more than any other man I know, that he sacrificed his life upon the altar of what he took to be the national need.

It is hard to realize that he is no longer among us—that we will never again be able to have another game of golf with him.

It is hard to realize that he will no longer be available when we need his sage counsel and advice.

The Nation will carry on without him, but the piloting will be harder than were he still here to hold the wheel.

Whenever I think of death, I think of a sentence I once read in one of the sacred books of the East. It came from the Bhagavad Gita, and it runs like this:

> Death is but a rusty scabbard
> From which emerges a shining sword.

If that be true, then ROBERT A. TAFT, reincarnated, is now winging his way off into the infinite, more useful than ever in that divine plan of things which none of us living are given the right to understand. His body lies here, stilled in the awful majesty of death, but his spirit is carrying on as he did himself when he was with us in person.

There are men who scoff and say that when we are dead that is the end of everything. They are arrant fools. Nothing in nature ever dies and becomes wasted material. Always a new cycle of development results, whether it be a tree, a shrub, a blade of grass.

With such perfection in nature, can anyone doubt for a second that an all-wise Creator would do less for us who are created in His image? For us humans who have been given the right of speech and unlimited lessons of life, are we to be of no future use?

Life, with its stern realities, affords men a chance to prove themselves. Step by step down the years, we are given the chance to develop mentally and physically and in our strength and our weakness to serve as object lessons to our fellows.

Some men, by reason of unusual and inherent qualities, are outstanding in this regard as to their spiritual value to others. Their virtues and their noble actions make them lodestones of attraction to others—make them fountainheads of wisdom for the benefit of all humanity.

ROBERT ALPHONSO TAFT

ROBERT A. TAFT was such a man. In life he was a great leader. In death he is a tremendous object lesson for us who are temporarily left behind. We have been enriched by his character and we are one and all the better for his having passed among us and for his all too brief span of leadership.

We are enriched by his standards of loyalty and devotion. Part of the good that was his becomes our heritage whether we are aware of it or not. Consciously or unconsciously, we will take on those qualities of his and be all the better for him.

Do you doubt my statement? Then I refer you to Paul's Epistle to the Hebrews in which you will find one of the subtlest and deepest principles of life—mayhap the answer to the riddle of life, "God having provided some better thing for us, that they without us should not be made perfect." Say that to yourself, and imagine, if you can, that they are the words of the dead to us who are still alive.

ROBERT A. TAFT loved his State and his country. Their best interests were always his best interests. Early and late, he ever stood ready to give them the last ounce of energy he possessed. Now, like a valiant soldier, he has expended that last ounce and his cold form lies stilled in an unforgettable lesson in service.

He was a gentleman of the first rank and a firm Christian. He was a devoted husband and father.

All of us who knew him well are better off for these shining virtues of his because, awed and humbled by the mystery of death, we are unconsciously receiving this spiritual legacy he has left behind. So goes the law of life—in such fashion is exemplified the words of the poet, "The good men do lives on after them and never dies."

Hail and farewell, ROBERT ALPHONSO TAFT.

There is sorrow and weeping in the Capitol today, because you are gone—there is sorrow and weeping everywhere in the Nation.

We will sadly miss you in the days which lie ahead, but we are all the better and all the more strengthened because you

passed amongst us and helped show us the way to immortality.

Mr. JENKINS. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Colorado [Mr. Chenoweth].

Mr. CHENOWETH. Mr. Speaker, the passing of Senator TAFT is an irreparable loss to this Nation. Senator TAFT was a frequent and welcome visitor to Colorado. His countless friends in Colorado join with me in expressing profound grief over his untimely death.

I first met Senator TAFT when I was Chairman of the Republican State Central Committee of Colorado. At that time we formed a friendship that has been one of the richest experiences in my life. When I came to Congress Senator and Mrs. Taft were most gracious and helpful. Mrs. Chenoweth and I have had the pleasure of being in their home on different occasions and they were charming hosts. A visit with the Tafts was always an outstanding event and it was a real privilege to partake of their genuine hospitality.

There was something wholesome and fine about Senator TAFT that always impressed me when I was in his presence. There was never any pretense or hypocrisy. I was always impressed with the fact that his public and private life was above reproach. There was never any scandal or gossip in connection with either. Everyone knew and respected his reputation for honesty and integrity.

Mr. Speaker, I feel utterly inadequate to express what is on my mind and heart today. In the passing of Senator TAFT I have suffered a heavy personal loss. His life will always be an inspiration and a challenge to me.

In these critical days our country needed Senator TAFT as never before. He occupied a unique place in our Government. It is impossible to estimate his influence on our national life. There is great sorrow over this Nation today because of his passing. Citizens in all walks of life realize they have lost a true friend. We will not see his like again.

Truly Senator TAFT was one of our greatest Americans and history will so record.

I wish to extend to Mrs. Taft and the other members of the family my deep personal sympathy in their great sorrow. All of us share the inexpressible loss they have sustained.

Mr. JENKINS. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. Oliver P. Bolton].

Mr. OLIVER P. BOLTON. Mr. Speaker, yesterday our Nation lost one of its greatest leaders. Words cannot adequately express the deep sense of loss the entire Nation feels at his departure.

Senator TAFT was a longtime friend of my family. I first got to know him well, however, in the 1948 campaign when I was State Young Republican chairman and helped organize the young men and women who were interested in his candidacy for President.

And it is as a young man that I should like particularly to pay tribute to the Senator. His unquestioned integrity and devotion to principle, his overall knowledge, and his terrific capacity for work caused him to be admired by all who knew him. But this was particularly true of younger people to whom he set a shining example of the finest tradition of public service and of devotion to his country.

Senator BOB TAFT will be remembered in history as a champion of the freedom he so greatly cherished and as a courageous, competent, forceful legislator. But he will be remembered even more for the highest type of public service which he rendered and the example of devotion to his country which he set for all young people to emulate and strive to follow.

Mr. Speaker, I join with my colleagues in extending to his wife and to his sons our deepest sympathies in their bereavement.

Mr. Speaker, I read a telegram from the gentlewoman from Ohio [Mrs. Frances P. Bolton], who is absent from the

Capitol for a few days on a mission closely connected with her official duties and who was twice a delegate to the Republican National Convention pledged to Senator TAFT's support:

Indescribably shocked by news of Senator TAFT's tragic death. The country can ill spare the man who gave himself so completely to her welfare.

FRANCES P. BOLTON,
Member of Congress.

Mr. JENKINS. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. Kersten].

Mr. KERSTEN of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, the people of the State of Wisconsin mourn the death of Senator BOB TAFT. Senator TAFT's intellectual honesty and his pursuit of the truth had a particular appeal to Wisconsin people.

These days there is confusion among many in the world as to whether there is such a thing as truth—objective truth. Some ask the question of Pilate: What is truth?

But ROBERT TAFT knew there was such a thing as truth and never offended the Holy Spirit, nor did he ever sin against the truth as he saw it. His passion for honesty and truth raised him to the heights on earth. We are confident that it will bear him to Heaven.

Mr. JENKINS. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Kansas [Mr. Scrivner].

Mr. SCRIVNER. Mr. Speaker, while there is no indispensable man, the void left by the death of Senator TAFT will, indeed, be difficult to fill.

A man of courage, of intellect, of integrity, of zeal, his career as a public servant has been, and will be, an example and inspiration to all of us who also seek to serve.

Of Senator TAFT it can be truly said: "Well done thou good and faithful servant, enter thou into the Kingdom of thy Lord."

To his wife and fine family our heartfelt sympathy is extended in these hours of sorrow.

Mr. JENKINS. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. Ayres].

Mr. AYRES. Mr. Speaker, I think I can perhaps best express my feeling for Senator TAFT by telling you a statement that was made by his charming wife about 3 years ago in connection with his forthcoming campaign, just before she was hospitalized herself. She was meeting with a group in Akron, and she was so able in answering questions they opened the meeting up to a question and answer period. One of the ladies said to her, "Mrs. Taft, I think perhaps your husband could be reelected if he were just a little more ordinary." Mrs. Taft, with all her charm and wit and vivaciousness, rose to her feet and said, "My dear lady, Martha Taft did not marry an ordinary man." How true that is. Senator TAFT was not an ordinary man in life. The remarks we have heard here today prove beyond a shadow of a doubt that he is not an ordinary man in death.

Mr. JENKINS. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. Cole].

Mr. COLE of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, on an occasion such as this words sometimes fail us. It is difficult, indeed, to sum up the accomplishments, the talents, the graces and goodness of a man like our beloved ROBERT A. TAFT. His passing has left a nation in mourning, and his death coming so soon after that of another distinguished Senator, Charles Tobey, serves to remind us that life is short.

I have spoken before of ROBERT A. TAFT as an "anchor to windward" in retaining those principles and precepts in which he believed and on which we rely. Certainly no one ever accused ROBERT A. TAFT of deviating one degree from his charted course in order to take advantage of a situation. To

know him was to respect him. I am glad that so many of our American people have already called him not merely Mr. Republican, but Mr. American. The fact that this came spontaneously and all over the Nation at once is in itself a tribute to the great Senator from Ohio.

ROBERT A. TAFT could and did work with those with whom he was not in complete accord, but he did this without giving up his own views and principles. Furthermore, he commanded their respect.

His regard for his family was proof of his spiritual qualities. It has been only since his death that we have learned of his personal courage in helping his doctors learn everything possible from his own ailment that might assist in curing others. In my opinion this great last act was the crowning glory of a great career by a great man.

We mourn for a friend. We mourn for a statesman. But even more important, we mourn for a real American.

Mr. JENKINS. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Virginia [Mr. Wampler].

Mr. WAMPLER. Mr. Speaker, as the youngest Member of the House, as a member of the Republican Party, representing a Southern State, and as an American citizen, I rise to pay tribute to the great citizen we honor today, Senator ROBERT A. TAFT, of Ohio.

I shall never forget the one occasion when I had the opportunity to talk with Senator TAFT.

On this particular occasion he was a candidate for the Republican nomination for President and I was a candidate for Congress.

We talked for the better part of an hour. During this time I feel that I came to know something of this great man's philosophy of government and moral character.

The one thing that impressed me most about Senator TAFT was his great concern for the welfare of the young people of America. He was deeply concerned about the future

course of our Federal Government for fear that many of its present policies were destroying opportunity for its young citizens.

Mr. Speaker, certainly it can be said that the young people of America have lost a great friend.

Someone once said that we never forget a person unless our hearts forget their greatness.

Mr. Speaker, if this be true, then BOB TAFT will never be forgotten.

I hope that the Almighty will comfort Mrs. Taft and her fine sons in their trying hour.

Mr. JENKINS. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentlewoman from Massachusetts [Mrs. Rogers].

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, I am deeply privileged to pay tribute to ROBERT A. TAFT. I served, one of the longest of any Member of Congress, with that great American, that truly very great and exceptional American. The Nation cannot afford the loss of his tremendous capacity and ability. A fine friend, always a considerate gentleman, and very cooperative in all the work of the United States Senate. I shall greatly miss him. A great scholar, and a great statesman, possessing comprehensive knowledge of government and national and international affairs, Senator TAFT gave all of his unusual talents to the country he loved so well.

To the people of America and to all of the people of the world not only those privileged to live in freedom but also those so unfortunate as to live in bondage, his untimely passing is a tragic, irreparable loss. But to everyone everywhere in the world the inspiration of his unfaltering courage, integrity, and honor will be enshrined forever.

I prophesy, Mr. Speaker, that ROBERT A. TAFT'S memory, which will live on just as permanently as a monument hewn in granite or marble, will help to lead us in these terrible days of unrest and war.

My deepest sympathy goes to his beloved and devoted wife, Martha Taft, and to his fine family.

Mr. JENKINS. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentlewoman from New York [Mrs. St. George].

Mrs. ST. GEORGE. Mr. Speaker, I too, want to pay my tribute to the memory of a great Senator, a great leader, and a great American.

I remember his coming in 1952 to address the women of my State of New York. At that gathering there was the greatest turnout the State had ever seen. They loved and honored and respected Senator TAFT.

In this day when so many seek opportunities, he was a man of integrity. His life both private and public was marked by courage and by truth. More than that cannot be said. His memory and his example will linger on. This Congress, this world, and this administration are the better because he was with them and with us.

To his family, and especially to his widow, I express my heartfelt sympathy.

I remember once Mrs. Taft was with me after a meeting where we had both spoken and she was talking of her husband, as she so frequently did, because those two were a real team, a real pair. She said, "You know, my husband has never been defeated by the people," and that is something that is true today. The people understood and the people loved Senator TAFT.

So in his death as in his life he was a knight without fear and without reproach. Though we cannot understand why these tragedies are sent, we can well imagine that now a voice is saying, "Well done, thou good and faithful servant. Enter thou into the joy of thy Lord."

Mr. JENKINS. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from New York [Mr. Taber].

Mr. TABER. Mr. Speaker, all of us here were terribly shocked and depressed by the death of Senator ROBERT A.

TAFT. He was in my opinion, the ablest legislator we had in the Congress. His cheerful disposition and his consideration for others made him a tremendous asset. We should be very thankful that we had such a fine colleague to work with and to help us in our problems. It is to be hoped that we will all be able to emulate his example and fill the void that he has left. Our most sincere sympathy goes out to his family.

Mr. JENKINS. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the distinguished Speaker, the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. Martin].

Mr. MARTIN of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, words come haltingly when one thinks of the loss to the United States and the world in the death of Senator TAFT. He was beyond question one of the great forces for world stabilization and his death at this time is a severe loss to the forces trying to rebuild a war-devastated world.

BOB TAFT was a man of character, high honesty of purpose, and a devoted fighter for a better America. He faced great issues with a courage that won for him millions of supporters.

I first knew BOB TAFT some 17 years ago. I came to know him intimately upon his election to the United States Senate in 1938.

With the passing of the years our friendship grew as did my admiration for his vast knowledge of economic principles. Never did we need this great mind more than today when we go forward to face greater challenges than were ever presented to any people.

BOB TAFT was the symbol of honesty and integrity in government. Millions are bereaved as they think of the tragic loss which has come with the death of a great leader.

To his good wife and sturdy helpmate in all his battles and to his splendid family I extend my deepest sympathy in their hour of bereavement.

A message from the Senate, by Mr. Ast, one of its clerks, announced that the Senate had adopted the following resolution (S. Res. 158):

Resolved, That the Secretary invite the Members of the House of Representatives to attend memorial services for the Honorable ROBERT A. TAFT in the rotunda of the Capitol on Monday, August 3, 1953, at 12 o'clock noon; and be it further

Resolved, That invitations be extended to the President of the United States and the members of the Cabinet, the Chief Justice and Associate Justices of the Supreme Court of the United States, the diplomatic corps (through the Secretary of State), the Chief of Staff of the Army, the Chief of Naval Operations of the Navy, the Chief of Staff of the Air Force, the Major General Commandant of the Marine Corps, and the Commandant of the Coast Guard to attend the memorial services in the rotunda of the Capitol.

The SPEAKER. The Chair appoints as Members on the part of the House to attend the funeral of the late Senator TAFT: The Speaker, Mr. Rayburn, Mr. Halleck, Mr. Arends, Mr. McCormack, Mr. Reed of New York, Mr. Crosser, Mr. Cannon, Mr. Taber, Mr. Jenkins, Mrs. Rogers of Massachusetts, Mr. Cooper, Mr. Wolcott, Mr. Kirwan, Mr. Simpson of Pennsylvania, Mr. Brown of Ohio, Mr. Clevenger, Mr. Vorys, Mrs. Frances P. Bolton, Mr. McGregor, Mr. Feighan, Mr. Weichel, Mr. McConnell, Mr. McCulloch, Mr. Polk, Mr. Secrest, Mr. Hays of Ohio, Mr. Reece of Tennessee, Mr. Hess, Mr. Bender, Mr. Ayres, Mr. Betts, Mr. Bow, Mr. Reams, Mr. Schenck, Mr. Oliver P. Bolton, Mr. Scherer.

Mr. HALLECK. Mr. Speaker, I offer a resolution (H. Res. 385) and ask for its immediate consideration.

The Clerk read the resolution, as follows:

Resolved, That the House of Representatives accepts the invitation of the Senate to attend memorial services for the Honorable ROBERT A. TAFT in the rotunda of the Capitol on Monday, August 3, 1953, at 12 o'clock noon.

Resolved, That the Clerk communicate these resolutions to the Senate.

The resolution was agreed to, and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

Mr. ARENDS. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House do now adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; accordingly (at 7 o'clock and 15 minutes p. m.), under its previous order, the House adjourned until Monday, August 3, 1953, at 11 o'clock a. m.

TUESDAY, *March 23, 1954.*

Mr. McGREGOR. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent for the immediate consideration of House Concurrent Resolution 214.

The Clerk read the resolution, as follows:

Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate concurring), That the Sanitary Engineering Center, Cincinnati, Ohio, which is to be dedicated by the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare on April 8 and 9, 1954, should be known and designated as the "ROBERT A. TAFT Sanitary Engineering Center," in honor of the late Senator ROBERT A. TAFT and should be dedicated as a memorial to his distinguished public service. Any law, rule, regulation, document, or record of the United States in which such center is referred to should be held to refer to such center under and by the name of the "ROBERT A. TAFT Sanitary Engineering Center."

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. McGregor]?

There was no objection.

Mr. SCHERER. Mr. Speaker, a week from this coming Thursday, the Federal Government will dedicate its new sanitary engineering center at Cincinnati, Ohio.

This center is a research laboratory for the study of pollution of the interstate waters of the United States and the control thereof. It is the only one of its kind in the world. It was authorized by the Water Pollution Control Act of 1948 which was sponsored by the late Senator ROBERT A. TAFT.

This imposing $4 million structure is within 3 miles of the Taft home in Cincinnati and was built during the last years of the Senator's life. It seems to be altogether fitting and proper, therefore, that this facility which will be of great benefit to mankind should bear the name of BOB TAFT as provided by my resolution, House Concurrent Resolution 214.

It will stand as a memorial to a man who served his State and Nation with tremendous ability and distinction. It will be a proper and lasting tribute to a great American.

The resolution was agreed to, and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

Memorial Tributes
to
Robert Alphonso Taft

Memorial Tributes

Remarks by Senator Butler

Of Maryland

Mr. BUTLER of Maryland. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to include in the Appendix of the Record a series of editorials appearing in Maryland newspapers, which pay tribute to my good friend and colleague—a great American—ROBERT A. TAFT.

There being no objection, the editorials were ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

[From the Baltimore Evening Sun of August 1, 1953]

SENATOR TAFT

Senator ROBERT A. TAFT was the only son of a President, except John Quincy Adams, who became a political power in the Nation in his own right. By inheritance and early association he acquired a taste for political life and he had the mind, energy, and the aptitudes to achieve a position of great national influence in that field. During his 15 years in the Senate he made himself a figure to be listed with Webster, Clay, Blaine, and others who became great legislative leaders but who failed to win the presidency.

Unlike most others who have enrolled their names high up on the list of legislative fame, Mr. TAFT spent nearly all of his 15 years in the Senate in opposition. Indeed, his power and his popularity derived largely from his undeviating opposition to the New Deal, the Fair Deal, and to the foreign policies of Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Truman. Mr. TAFT's stand against the domestic policies of the Democratic majority endeared him to old-line Republicans everywhere. It was this stand which won him the sobriquet of "Mr. Republican," and made him the favorite of midwestern and southern Republicans in the party conventions of 1948 and 1952.

Although Mr. TAFT was largely an opposition leader, he was not without affirmative ideas of his own for the solution of domestic problems. While resisting the extremes to which the Democratic

administration wanted to go in its search for social gains, he advocated a generous public housing policy as well as Federal aid to health and education. He wished to keep spending on these, as on all fronts, within the limits of a pay-as-you-go budget, but he was far in advance of many of his own followers in these particulars.

In foreign affairs, however, Mr. TAFT had few affirmative suggestions of his own to soften the undeviating character of his opposition to the policies which were followed by the party in power. He left to the late Senator Vandenberg the formulation of constructive expedients and while he and Mr. Vandenberg got along together, Mr. TAFT was often found among those who sought to apply the brakes when Mr. Vandenberg tried to pull his party forward. Moreover, he usually pressed his points in this difficult field with the same vehemence as in domestic affairs—a circumstance which often interfered with the Vandenberg effort to put foreign policy on a bipartisan basis.

The sources of Mr. TAFT's political strength were in Congress. His superior qualities of mind enabled him to rise rapidly in the Senate and, after a brief period, to dominate Republican thinking in that Chamber. Naturally he had the support of most of his Republican colleagues in his efforts to win the presidential nomination, and much support also came from the House. His failure to attain the goal was due to many factors, but the main obstacle was inherent in his own character and his own policies.

In making himself "Mr. Republican" he identified himself with the more conservative wing of his party. His sponsorship of progressive measures was forgotten in the general enthusiasm for his uncompromising opposition to everything for which Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Truman had stood. He became the symbol of his party in Congress, but it was largely a negative symbol. Hence the more progressive Republican elements were able to argue that he would have no appeal to the independents, whose votes were necessary to Republican success. As a result, Mr. Dewey obtained the nomination in 1948 and the Dewey forces swung the choice to General Eisenhower last year.

Because of the devotion of his congressional followers, Mr. TAFT had it in his power to make or break the Eisenhower administration. There were some observers who feared a break between him and the man who is now President. Mr. TAFT took his defeat at the 1952 convention in a large spirit. His loyalty to his party and his sense of public responsibility were greater than any mere personal disappointments and regrets.

As majority leader in the Senate he proved himself an effective lieutenant of the administration and an effective mobilizer of Re-

publican support for its policies. Up to the time of his unfortunate illness, Senator TAFT had shown both magnanimity and an ability to work in harness in the effort to create real party Government. His achievements in the last half year providing an impressive capstone for his long public service.

[From the Baltimore Sun of August 1, 1953]

ROBERT A. TAFT

Senator TAFT was in many ways a fortunate man. He had a good wife, four devoted sons and a clear conscience. He had, moreover, secure social position, a superb education, and the means to indulge that bent for politics which he inherited from his father.

Yet it was none of these advantages which made him one of the most conspicuous and important figures of these midcentury years. Senator TAFT kept his private life to himself, and no man of means could have been less ostentatious. What brought Senator TAFT onward and upward in the world of politics (though it did not take him to the goal which had led him on since his law-school days) was a personality of which no counterpart comes readily to mind.

Senator TAFT had high intelligence; he had a quick mind and a thorough one. He was candid to a degree, and had rigid standards of integrity, and yet he knew the art of compromise. He was a strong-willed man, and in his chosen field persistently ambitious, but always a clean fighter. He knew how to make faithful friends, and he was a convincing speaker; but he had no use for the cheap devices by which many politicians acquire a reputation for charm, and his personality radiated little warmth to the people generally. He had, however, a conception of that elusive thing which we call "the American way of life" which aroused a response in millions who like to call themselves old fashioned, and in which the gospel of hard work and honest dealing held a principal place. It was this which was his great asset as a vote getter.

More than any man in contemporary public life, Senator TAFT had a mind of his own. Sometimes the results could be exasperating, sometimes they could seem inconsistent, but always his announced opinion carried the stamp of a man who insisted on going his own way. It was not easy to put a label on him, unless one took the easy way out and either damned him up and down as a menace, or embraced him as the fountain of all wisdom. But he was neither.

Four examples will illustrate this independent quality of his mind.

At the time of the Nuremberg trials, when a spirit of retribution was in the air, Senator TAFT announced that in his opinion they were "hypocritical," and that they "violate that fundamental principle of American law that a man cannot be tried under an ex post facto statute."

Throughout his career Senator TAFT was skeptical and suspicious of the whole trend toward welfare government. And yet, in his own way, he arrived at the conclusion that subsidized housing was an exception, and became possibly the strongest proponent in Congress of a thoroughgoing public housing program.

Senator TAFT earned the hatred of millions (most of whom had never read the law) for his sponsorship of the Taft-Hartley Act; and yet he labored diligently once it had become law to modify those provisions which in his mind had worked out inequitably or unjustly.

Finally, this past February, at a time when denouncing communism had become the easiest of all ways to acquire political popularity, he announced (he was a trustee of Yale University) that he would not fire a professor "simply for being a Communist," and that it would be "inconsistent with freedom of thought" to dismiss a Communist professor who steers clear of Communist dogma in his teaching.

It was this sort of independent thinking, this stubborn independence of mind, which set Senator TAFT apart from the run of politicians. It was this which caused lesser men to look to him for guidance, men who shared the same general point of view, or parts of it, but didn't know why. It was this (which is another name for leadership) that gave substance, and one might say legitimacy, to his repeated efforts to obtain the nomination for the Presidency itself. He did not doubt that his opinions, once reached, were correct, and it was appropriate for a man with such faith in himself to seek the office through which his opinions might be made to prevail.

And yet it was in his final failure, just a year ago, that Senator TAFT most plainly demonstrated another characteristic of his personality not previously mentioned, his sense of loyalty. Since his entry on the national scene, he had made a career of opposition. His final disappointment might have justified, in his own mind and in the minds of others, a continued attitude of opposition, this time within his own party. Instead, he agreed to accept the job of legislative leader for an administration with which, in many matters, he could not entirely sympathize. There is no doubt that during the months leading up to the discovery of his

dreadful illness, a new insight into the character of this honest and devoted servant had been vouchsafed to many.

There is one thing more that should be said: We forget too easily, as a wise man has remarked, that "mortality is the keynote of life upon the earth." Death in this case came with appalling and unexpected swiftness. But for the accidents of politics, Senator TAFT might possibly have been a President stricken at the outset of his term. The choice of candidates for Vice President is not a matter to be dealt with on any basis other than that the Vice President may become President.

[From the Baltimore News-Post of August 1, 1953]

GREAT LOSS

Senator TAFT's death is an incalculable loss to the Eisenhower administration and a stunning blow to the American people. We believe that history will list ROBERT A. TAFT among the great Americans.

Devotion to America pulsed in Senator TAFT's heart. Faith in America as deep as life itself abided in his spirit. The interests of America were foremost in his mind.

Those who differed with him, sometimes to the point of anger, never questioned that devotion, that faith, or those interests.

President Eisenhower has lost a friend and an invaluable adviser.

For this was a friendship founded on travail. Senator TAFT advanced through the bitter shock of his defeat for the presidential nomination to that friendship and President Eisenhower advanced to it through the true humility of a victor who knew he needed help and had the courage to seek it.

HE HELPED ELECT IKE

So they found friendship—these two big men—and the President gained an adviser who would never stoop to flatter and would never shirk his obligation to speak out of the vastness of his experience and the depth of his intelligence.

It is not stretching accuracy to say that Senator TAFT more than any other person helped elect President Eisenhower.

Perhaps you remember that scene in Chicago after General Eisenhower received the nomination. We shall never forget it.

It was the scene where General Eisenhower called on Senator TAFT to shake his hand and ask his help in the campaign to come. Senator TAFT was crushed and shaken by the defeat of his dearest hope. You could sense the struggle going on within him.

Then you could see him set his shoulders, and finally you saw him smile. It was not the false smile that one summons to cover despair. It was a smile that conveyed an acceptance and a promise, an acceptance of defeat and a promise of support.

It took a great man to do that.

And Senator TAFT went on to bring together his disgruntled followers, to heal wounds, and prevent what could have been a disastrous split in his party; he went on to work for the Eisenhower victory.

It took a great man to do that.

His candor and experience, his intelligence and integrity, have been, as we said, of incalculable benefit to the President and his administration.

WE SHARE HIS FAITH

There may be some who will say that Senator TAFT's death is not only an incalculable loss but an irreplaceable one.

With this we beg to disagree, and we are sure that Senator TAFT would be the first to dissent.

For it is one of the glories of American democracy that no person is irreplaceable. It is one of the profound verities of American democracy that men and women rise up to meet the obligations placed upon them.

While we are deeply grieved that this Nation has lost Senator TAFT, we share his faith in America. And on the basis of that faith, we hope that President Eisenhower will be able to obtain the services of a man competent to advise him with the same blunt candor and patriotic intelligence of Senator TAFT.

A man who possesses these qualities to an undisputed degree immediately comes to mind. Certainly the President could not do better than to seek the counsel of General MacArthur, especially as concerns America's military-diplomatic role in the troubled world.

In this case, General MacArthur, of course, would be an adviser outside the official administrative and legislative family. But that would not lessen the strength nor the pertinency of his counsel. In fact, it might increase it.

[From the Cumberland News of August 1, 1953]

SENATOR ROBERT A. TAFT

Senator ROBERT A. TAFT, a long-time political warrior who leaves a definite mark on the American scene and made his presence felt around the world, has passed on, victim of the dread disease cancer, which has snuffed out so many lives.

ROBERT ALPHONSO TAFT

His death removes from our Government one of its greatest leaders and one of its most outspoken lawmakers, whether as a member of the majority party or the opposition.

Senator TAFT well deserved the hard-earned nickname of "Mr. Republican" because he espoused the Republican cause more vigorously than any of his contemporaries.

He never ceased to fight but he never failed to rally to the cause of his party despite sometimes heartbreaking setbacks in his battle to further his ambitions.

On the national scene he fought for what he thought was right, even though he knew it to be unpopular in some instances, with a vigor and determination that outshone many an opponent.

There were many who differ from his position and opinion, often vehemently, but there were practically none who did not admire Senator TAFT for his forthrightness. There never was a question as to where he stood on virtually any issue.

While he never quite reached the heights of his famous father who held the two highest offices in the land—those of President and of Chief Justice of the Supreme Court—Senator TAFT unquestionably will be remembered in history as one of the great leaders of our time. It perhaps may not be too much to say that his mark on America is even more impressive than that of his father.

His life strikes an unusual parallel to that of Henry Clay, well remembered after these many years, who always was an outstanding leader and a formidable opponent, but who never quite reached his goal of the Presidency.

Senator TAFT as a great Republican and a greater American has left his own remarkable record for succeeding generations to emulate.

[From the Evening Times of August 1, 1953]

MR. REPUBLICAN

During his 15 years in the United States Senate, ROBERT A. TAFT was known throughout the country as the most outspoken man in American politics. Despite this, everyone, including his enemies, acknowledged his abilities. From 1940, when he first sought the GOP presidential nomination, until his most recent activity as Senate majority leader, the 63-year-old Ohioan was a national and international figure, admired or hated here and abroad. Few people were neutral about TAFT. One of his greatest political accomplishments came in Ohio's Senate race during 1950. Bucking a tremendous campaign against him by organized labor, which

was determined to oust him from his Senate seat, he personally outmaneuvered his opposition and rolled to victory with one of the largest majorities ever given to a candidate in Ohio.

Mr. BUTLER of Maryland. Mr. President, the tremendous responsibility and opportunity which are ours at this crucial period in world history combine to make the opening of the 2d session of the 83d Congress a great and challenging occasion.

But, somehow, the luster of this occasion is dimmed by the sobering knowledge that our former majority leader and friend, the Honorable ROBERT A. TAFT, will not be with us. The eminence of his long career as a truly great American has been acknowledged by millions of his fellow Americans, and the impact of his penetrating mind, unrivaled competence, and unselfish devotion to the service of his beloved country will endure in this Chamber and in the heart of America as long as statesmanship continues to be revered by free and honorable men.

Today it would seem fitting that we recall BOB TAFT'S presence in this, the greatest of all legislative chambers—always pleasant, always willing to counsel, always an informed and tireless debater. In paying a further tribute to "Mr. Republican," I ask unanimous consent that a searching study of his biography and personality, which was published in the August 10, 1953, issue of Time magazine, be printed in the Appendix of the Record.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

AN AMERICAN POLITICIAN

Upstairs in her Georgetown house, surrounded by the memorabilia of her family, Mrs. Robert Taft waited for the rites to begin on Capitol Hill. She had been with her husband through all his defeats—when Wilkie beat him at the 1940 convention, when Dewey beat him at the 1948 convention, and finally, when Eisenhower beat him at Chicago last year. TAFT had always lost the greatest, most venturesome battles of his career. Now he had lost this one, but without her.

He had insisted on Tuesday, when she flew to New York to visit him, that she go back to Washington. By that time she knew the whole truth of his illness, which for some 2 months he had kept from her. On Friday word had come to her that BOB TAFT had died in a coma of malignant tumors.

"I'M GOING TO FIGHT IT"

It was to spare her that TAFT had so closely guarded the secret of his condition from the press, and from all but his sons and his most intimate friends. Martha was in precarious health, paralyzed by a stroke 3 years ago. The knowledge of his condition had come as sudden and shocking news to him. He had had himself checked carefully before his 1952 presidential campaign, and had been given a clean bill of health. Last spring he went to his doctor with the exasperating pain in his hip, which he had tried to alleviate with aspirin tablets, and had gradually learned, after many tests, that what he had might be very serious. In June the doctors told him that his case was "virtually hopeless." He told Mrs. Taft that he might have a malignancy but belittled the extent of it, and thereupon began a careful masquerade, playing the part of a man who had nothing wrong with him that the doctors couldn't fix.

It was a heroic and poignant performance. He continued to make a pretense of tending to his Senate duties. On the day he announced his retirement from the majority leadership, exhausted and scrawny-looking and badly in need of a haircut, he excused himself to a visitor in his Senate office and dragged himself out on crutches to take Martha Taft to a promised garden party. After an exploratory operation, he hobbled around the room to show a friend from Washington how much he had improved. He did believe until near the end that he might have a chance. "I'm going to fight it," he told a friend. But he lost to it.

And in losing, another TAFT battle was imperiled. From January to June, as Senate majority leader, he had worked with just one goal in mind; the Republican administration must be made to succeed. It was probably the last chance to reestablish the power of the GOP. For that goal, the political essential was party unity. TAFT, every inch a partisan and politician, knew that, and he had worked with all his driving energy for harmony between White House and Congress.

THE MAN FROM THE MACHINE

"I am a politician," TAFT once declared unabashedly. In a Nation which always distrusts and sometimes despises politicians

(while handing the responsibility of Government over to them), it was an unusual admission, made without any qualification. TAFT was a technician of government, a lawmaker, a man of astonishing integrity—but a hardheaded, practicing politician from the Midwest.

It was a curious chick from which the politician grew: a shy boy, with large round eyes in a large round head, born in 1889 in a gingerbready house in Cincinnati. The chick became a precocious young man who set his contemporaries an example in scholarship at Yale, who casually accepted the fact that his father was in the White House, ground his way to the top of his class at Harvard Law School, and fled from the opportunities open to him in New York ("I have a prejudice against New York," he wrote his father) to return to Cincinnati and handle, among other affairs, the fortune (in cast iron) of his Aunt Annie.

BOB TAFT and Martha Bowers, who was the daughter of William Howard Taft's Solicitor General, fitted appropriately into Cincinnati. There Grandfather Alphonso had settled down 75 years before; Tafts had lent streets and buildings their name; Taft money bought memorials and largely supported the zoo; Tafts ran the Cincinnati Times-Star and Tafts imparted to a whole urban society their own sedate, conscientious, and self-assured characteristics. TAFT could have stayed comfortably in the house he bought on Indian Hill and lucratively in the law practice with his younger brother Charles. Instead, the TAFT sense of duty took him into politics.

He began his career as a precinct doorbell-ringer in Boss Rudolph Hynickas notorious Ohio Republican machine. TAFT believed then in party regularity, and was to hold to that belief throughout his career. It was not an opportunist's attitude. He believed in the party of his father as the only party founded on sound principle. "My theory," he explained, "was to work within the organization," in which he considered the Hynickas to be intruders. Brother Charles did not agree, and was active in Cincinnati's fusionist reform movement. The Hynicka machine elected BOB TAFT to the State legislature. In a few years BOB TAFT, and not the intruders, controlled the machine.

He served 6 years in the legislature and 2 years in the State senate. He was chiefly responsible for the heroic revision of Ohio's antiquated tax system. Beyond that, he left a modest record of supporting legislation in the field of human welfare, based on the minimum standards of living which he always believed it should be government's obligation to maintain. But it was a record that could not withstand the New Deal storm in 1932. TAFT was washed overboard in the deluge.

ROBERT ALPHONSO TAFT

THE MAN FROM YALE

From the trough of the waves in 1936, TAFT cried out stoutly that he was Ohio's favorite-son candidate for President, and that he stood on a platform of being "100 percent against the New Deal." The cry was scarcely heard in the thundering triumph of Franklin Roosevelt over Alf Landon.

Two years later TAFT stubbornly tried again, this time for the United States Senate. Grimly he talked his way across Ohio, seconded in more vivacious tones by the vivacious Martha. It was during that campaign that she made probably her most famous political utterance. "My husband is not a simple man," she said to a group of coal miners. "He did not start from humble beginnings. My husband is a very brilliant man. He had a fine education at Yale. He has been well trained for his job. Isn't that what you prefer when you pick leaders to work for you?"

It was a kind of political indiscretion which only a bold lady would commit in public. There before the voters of Ohio stood exposed a picture of the TAFT aristocracy—diplomats, lawmakers, lawyers, judges, civic leaders, and a United States President—men of property with respect for property, and graduates of Yale. To the surprise of political observers, the voters did not react with the leveling impulse of envy. They turned down a passionate New Dealer and sent instead the brilliant man of lofty beginnings to represent them in Washington.

THE UNDERSTANDING ENEMY

Senator ROBERT TAFT was never one to waste time in making his position clear. The flat Ohio voice that was to be heard uttering millions of words of protest in the next 14 years first sounded across the Senate Chamber decrying the Federal Government's adventures in business, and on that score protesting an appropriation for TVA. Tall, ungainly, eyeing the Senate through rimless spectacles, he hammered at the "vain, immoral, and dangerous" precepts of the New Deal, demanding the redirection of current tendencies, since otherwise "we cannot long maintain financial solvency or free enterprise or even individual liberty in the United States."

Gradually the New Dealers awoke to him. There was good reason why TAFT was so widely attacked. The men around Roosevelt, New Deal apologists among the press, and the high-riding labor unions, unerringly spotted a potientially dangerous enemy. He was ridiculed and vilified. He was highly vulnerable to attack because of his thinking-out-loud type of speaking; his loose sentences could be lifted out of context and thrown back at him with deadily effect.

It was no good for friends to point out that he was a man of decent motives who, in the years he served in the Senate, developed from his own careful studies legislation directed to improving housing (the housing lobby accused him of socialism), improving education, improving health. This was not the point.

It was often said that TAFT was misunderstood. Many people misunderstood him, but not his enemies. They caricatured and distorted him before the public, but they understood him very well. TAFT was against the spread of Federal power; his welfare bills gave jurisdiction to the States. He stood in the way of collectivists of all varieties, from the creeping to the rampant. He was against their kind of progress.

"WHEN I SAY LIBERTY"

TAFT stood for individual liberty. "And when I say liberty," he wrote, "I do not mean simply what is referred to as free enterprise. I mean liberty of the individual to think his own thoughts and live his own life as he desires to think and live, liberty of a man to choose his own occupation, liberty of a man to run his own business as he thinks it ought to be run, as long as he does not interfere with the right of other people to do the same thing. Gradually this philosophy has been replaced by the idea that happiness can only be conferred upon the people by the grace of an efficient government. Only the Government, it is said, has the expert knowledge necessary for the people's welfare."

This was the idea he fought. He opposed centralization of power in Government, in big labor, and, for that matter, in big business, because such power finally destroys the liberty of men.

The accuracy of his enemies' assessment of TAFT was borne out. In 1947 he pushed through the Taft-Hartley Act. In 1950, running for reelection in Ohio, he administered organized labor one of its most far-reaching political defeats. Union leaders thought they could beat him. In no State campaign had labor ever let loose such a concerted attack, determined as it was to punish the author of the Taft-Hartley Act, which they called the "slave labor act," TAFT won by a majority almost twice the size of what he himself had predicted. It might have marked the high tide of labor's political influence. In any case, the CIO and the AFL have not been able to assert themselves since as an effective political force.

"I'M NOT A PHILOSOPHER"

TAFT was not a reflective man. Once, when an interviewer tried to draw him into a discussion of the underlying philosophy of conservatism, he said simply: "I'm not a philosopher. These are

questions I haven't thought much about." He was not at home in complicated theorizing. He operated from a fixed base of accepted principles and law, used his analytical mind to sift out the facts. The Taft-Hartley Act made no effort to establish new principles of labor relations. Rather, it was a great improvisation, intended to register a shift of public sentiment against the one-sidedness of the Wagner Act. It was not the last word on the subject, and TAFT admitted it; he had none of the politician's usual prejudice against acknowledging mistakes. In 1949, at hearings on revision of the act, he faced labor's legal experts, countering their citations with citations he dug up from his exhaustive knowledge. Few men ever stumped TAFT in legislative debates.

From fixed principles and some prejudices, he rushed headlong in and out of the great foreign-policy debates preceding World War II. He feared United States involvement in war as leading to the mastery of the State over the man. Further than that, he saw no national necessity for the United States to enter the war. He opposed aid to Russia after the breaking of the Soviet-Nazi pact when Russia was being invaded. "The victory of communism in the world would be far more dangerous to the United States than the victory of fascism," he said then. "It is a greater danger to the United States because it is a false philosophy which appeals to many. Fascism is a false philosophy which appeals to a few." This was a weighing of hazards which was not well received in Washington in 1941.

He had no more, and sometimes he had less, prescience than other men. Four months before Pearl Harbor, he voted against an extension of the draft; 2 months later, he voted against a second lend-lease appropriation (as he had voted against the original lend-lease proposal); a month before Pearl Harbor, he voted against arming United States merchant ships; on December 6, 1941, he demanded to know why a force of 2 million men was justified. In that force, actually multiplied sixfold, TAFT'S four sons were to serve throughout the war.

A CHARGE OF APPEASEMENT

But if TAFT'S vision was sometimes more limited than other men's, it was also sometimes wider. As early as 1944, while Washington and London were still nodding approvingly over the Teheran conference, he pointed out its fatal fallacies. "The danger to the accomplishment of an association of nations," he said, "does not come today from so-called isolationists or any unwillingness on the part of our people to go ahead. It comes from the current policy of Mr. Stalin and the failure of this country to have any

definite foreign policy at all * * * [Mr. Roosevelt] seems prepared to sacrifice all principles of foreign policy to appease Russia."

He questioned the value of the United Nations, delimited as it was by the veto, its concept based solely on peace and security, not on law and justice. He took the unpopular position, as so many of his positions were, of denouncing the Nuremberg trials, which "violate the fundamental principle of American law that a man cannot be tried under an ex post facto statute. * * * In these trials we have accepted the Russian idea of the purpose of trials, government policy and not justice."

He went along with Arthur Vandenberg's leadership in the Republican's postwar policy in foreign affairs, Van's so-called unpartisanship. But TAFT had misgivings, which Vandenberg also began to entertain before the end of his career. When the Michigan Senator died of cancer in 1951, TAFT began to express himself with vigor on foreign affairs, attacking what he saw as defects and ambiguities in the NATO pact, challenging both the President's right and wisdom in committing large numbers of United States troops to Europe, fixing the blame for the Korean attack on the administration's weak and vacillating policy in the Far East, the theme to which he returned in his last formal speech before his death.

What did TAFT have to offer instead? In 1951 he wrote his book, A Foreign Policy for Americans. From it emerged his theory of a Monroe Doctrine protecting Europe, the concentration of United States might in the long arm of the Air Force, and a world organization founded on world law. It was hastily written, scattered, and not fully thought through—another headlong improvisation, but another example of TAFT's ability to put facts together. It was a scathing review of postwar United States foreign policy, which had been bold and even brilliant in flashes of desperation, but without any firm core of consistent principle or steady purpose.

THE BITTER PILL

The book was written as a weapon in TAFT's last fight for the Presidency. He entered it as the man who had earned and unquestionably held the leadership of his party—"Mr. Republican," no less. By the old rules of United States party politics, TAFT would have won the nomination hands down. But the old rules had crumbled. Congressional leadership counted for less than it had in the past. Many Republicans disagreed strongly with BOB TAFT. More opposed not TAFT but the image which his enemies had fixed in the public mind. Still more understood that the image was a distortion of the man but held that, because of the image, he could not be elected.

The last argument was decisive against him. TAFT, ever the practical politician, ever the party regular, was licked on a point of political expediency. If his party had been pretty sure of winning or pretty sure of losing, TAFT would have been its nominee. But at convention time, it looked as if the general election would be close, and a majority of the delegates wanted to win badly enough to swing behind a candidate who was unquestionably more popular with Democrats and independents.

TAFT took this bitter pill like a politician of principle. He believed in himself, but believed also in what his party stood for. On Morningside Heights, he and Eisenhower worked out a statement of agreed principles. TAFT pledged his allegiance and he never wavered.

As Senate majority leader in a Republican administration, the public began to see a new TAFT. The Nation, which had overturned the Fair Deal to elect Dwight Eisenhower, was ready to listen at least with half an ear. There sprang up the hope that TAFT and Eisenhower between them would evolve a foreign policy and a policy of national defense, a domestic policy, and, indeed, a reconstructed and truly American idealism to which the Nation could rally. This hope began to turn TAFT into a popular figure. Whatever suffering they brought to him as a man, TAFT's last 6 months brought him at last recognition of his stature as a public servant, or, as he would have said, as a politician.

In the Senate when the news came the TAFT desk stood piled high with papers and Congressional Records and the empty chair was pushed back, as though the long-legged man from Ohio had just left it.

IN THE CAPITOL ROTUNDA

On the day of the funeral a uniformed attendant wheeled Martha Taft into the rotunda of the Capitol, where for a day her husband's body, in a closed casket, had lain in state, visited by thousands of people.[1] There the dignitaries gathered: President Eisenhower, Vice President Nixon, Members of Congress, the Cabinet, and the Supreme Court; TAFT's old friend, Douglas MacArthur. The muffled brass of the United States Marine Band echoed through

[1] Only 12 others have lain in state in the Capitol rotunda: Abraham Lincoln, Thaddeus Stevens, Charles Sumner, John A. Logan, James A. Garfield, William McKinley, Maj. Pierre Charles L'Enfant, Adm. George Dewey, the Unknown Soldier of World War I, Warren G. Harding, Gen. John J. Pershing, and ROBERT TAFT's father.

the corridors and Senator John Bricker spoke the eulogy. TAFT, who had always gone armed with a sense of humor, would have appreciated the irony of such pomp and honor; in life he had been more often damned than praised.

Quite alone in spirit, Martha Taft watched the honor guard carry out the casket. She had known very well the political TAFT, a figure so often in contrast to the personal TAFT: one argumentative, impatient with slow minds, the other amiable and tolerant; one stiff-seeming and stand-offish, the other resonantly singing airs from Gilbert and Sullivan operettas, devoted to his four sons, playing with his grandchildren, who laughingly called him "the Gop." There had been contrast and sometimes conflict between the two Tafts. She had not wanted him to campaign for the Presidency in 1952; if he had won, she would have been deprived of much of his company, which she needed so badly in her own trouble.

She had courageously hidden her reluctance and gone along with him because she believed the Presidency was his greatest ambition. TAFT had not sensed her brooding fears until after he had thrown himself into the campaign, after he was committed. This week she summoned up her courage for the last ordeal and got ready to follow him back to Indian Hill.

Mr. BUTLER of Maryland. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Record an article entitled "The Great Untold Story of Senator TAFT: Eight Weeks To Live." The article was published in the magazine This Week for January 17, 1954.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

THE GREAT UNTOLD STORY OF SENATOR TAFT: EIGHT WEEKS TO LIVE

(By Jhan and June Robbins)

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—When ROBERT A. TAFT died both his friends and political enemies agreed that we had lost a great American, but few knew the magnificent story of how the Senator faced death. This Week assigned reporters Jhan and June Robbins to talk to Senator TAFT's friends, associates, and, with the permission of his family, his doctors. The result is one of the most moving articles it has been our privilege to print.)

Just 1 year ago this week the late Senator ROBERT A. TAFT, of Ohio, smiled gamely as Dwight D. Eisenhowever took the oath that made

him President of the United States. TAFT had tried heartbreakingly hard to win that office for himself. He wanted to follow his father into the White House and he had dedicated most of his adult life toward that ambition. Now, his chances were gone and he knew it.

He was too honest to pretend he didn't care. When someone complimented him on his Inaugural Day good humor he grinned wryly and said, "I'm a three-time loser now. I ought to be getting pretty good at it!"

His courage supported him through a quarter-century of political activity. What he had to say, he said. If it made him unpopular, he shrugged it off. He once remarked that tact was for people who knew they were wrong. Often his outspokenness got him into trouble with friend and foe alike but it was seldom that either public abuse or private pressure could pry him loose from an opinion. Quite literally he was a man who would rather be right than President.

Of TAFT's political methods, Senator Everett M. Dirksen, of Illinois, said, "What TAFT taught us was to stay on the job day after day, chipping away until the opposition crumbled. That's the kind of courage BOB TAFT had—a dogged, stubborn ability to grin and bear it."

But the real test of his courage was still ahead. It came, a few months later, when he faced the growing mass of evidence that pointed to the presence of a rare form of cancer, and he settled down to fight his last magnificent losing battle—this time against death.

A POWERFUL PHYSIQUE

It is odd to report that TAFT was an exceptionally healthy man. A preconvention checkup in the early summer of 1952 pronounced him physically perfect. He was minus only his tonsils, extracted the previous year. Medical records show that the Senator's only serious illness occurred at the age of 12 when he had scarlet fever.

He stood 6 feet tall, normally weighed 200 pounds and was physically powerful. He had tremendous stamina. Reporters half his age used to beg him to take a break because they needed one. But the Senator's idea of a rest was to go out and play 18 holes of golf.

The story of his fatal illness begins with a golf game. In the third week of April, President Eisenhower was resting at Augusta, Ga. TAFT flew down to consult him on some minor political issue and on April 19, their confab over, the two golfing enthusiasts hurried out to the links. It was a balmy spring day.

TAFT played spiritedly through the first six holes. Then, as he teed off on the seventh, he clapped a hand to his hip and complained

of being stiff. They finished the round. President Eisenhower won by several strokes. TAFT went home complaining about his hip and that he was short of breath and felt weak in the knees.

DOCTOR BAFFLED

On April 29, TAFT kept an appointment with his personal Washington, D. C., physician. The doctor was unable to account for the symptoms immediately but he saw enough to make him suggest a series of hospital tests.

For the next few weeks TAFT shuttled back and forth between his home, the Capitol, and the Army's Walter Reed Hospital. Tests revealed a constant, low fever and moderate anemia, but X-rays failed to show what was wrong with the troublesome hip socket. He was warned, however, that the disturbance was serious. It might be due to arthritis or even a tumor. Further diagnostic treatment was urgent.

By the end of the first week in May the Senator was limping and in considerable pain. His doctor urged him to move down from his third-floor bedroom to a room on the second floor that was serviced by an elevator, but the advice was not taken. "All my detective books are up there!" TAFT protested.

TAFT's bedroom was as magnificently disordered as its occupant's mind was orderly. He seemed to have left behind in it all the chaff of his complicated days. There were twin beds. In one he slept. Piled high on the other were dozens of detective novels scrambled in with back copies of Senate proceedings. Pinned to a curtain was a leftover campaign button that he particularly liked: "Don't be daft—vote for TAFT."

The room was reached by a steep flight of 23 steps. The increasingly miserable Senator hobbled up and down them unaided. Watching him, but waved firmly away when they tried to help, the household staff decided that he had bursitis. The pain didn't seem to slow him down. He continued to spend full time at his strenuous job as Senate majority leader and to show up regularly for conferences at the White House.

In the middle of May, TAFT went to the photographic studios of Harris and Ewing in Washington to pose for what proved to be his last formal portrait.

"Don't pretty me up!" he joked to them. "Remember I'm a Senator, not a TV star!"

At the end of the week he hurried down to Hot Springs, Va., where his wife was resting. He had already made up his mind that Mrs. Taft was not to worry about him. But she was hard to fool. Married 39 years, BOB and Martha Taft had achieved one of those

entirely devoted marriages that seem to have gone out of style with the Victorian era. A stroke which had made Martha Taft a wheelchair invalid 3 years before had only brought them closer.

TAFT wheeled her everywhere himself and always lifted her in and out of their car. Now, at the Hot Springs railroad station on the homeward trip, he made one last attempt to carry on as usual. He picked her up and carried her up the steps of the train and down the aisle. Then, white and perspiring, he half fell into a seat and confessed that he was having "a little trouble" with his hip.

HIS LAST SPEECH

On May 20 TAFT went to Walter Reed Hospital, this time for a 3-day series of tests and blood transfusions designed to help his anemia.

"Well, but what's really the matter with me?" TAFT demanded. He was told that further tests were needed for an exact diagnosis.

"You're making me into a human pincushion," he grumbled amiably. Then he added that he had to go to Cincinnati at the end of the week. A date was made for him to see his Cincinnati physician.

The following day he departed by plane, carrying under his arm a 5-pound bundle of medical records, X-ray plates, and political papers. He was going to deliver a speech at the annual dinner of the National Conference of Christians and Jews on the 26th of May. But the moment he presented himself to his doctor at Holmes Hospital he was put to bed and told to stay there.

Meekly, for him, he asked if he could deliver his speech by telephone, and they agreed. At the last moment the electrical connections failed. His son, Bob, Jr., who was present at the dinner, jumped to his feet with a typewritten copy of his father's speech and read it off.

It was the last major political address of TAFT's career. In it he urged that the United States forget about United Nations niceties and "go it alone" in Korea. The speech had tremendous impact. Diplomats at home and abroad were rudely jolted. The White House was embarrassed. TAFT's own grassroots constituents applauded.

TAFT himself grinned when he saw the headlines. "Boy, are they jumping on me," he said ruefully. "Well, somebody had to say it."

When doctors at Holmes Hospital looked TAFT over, there was a new development in the case. A small lump had risen on his forehead—dark colored with a hard core. There were two more on his abdomen close to the bad hip. The lumps were removed immediately and shoved under a miscroscope. More than a dozen

experts, some of whom did not know the name of the patient involved, examined them. The diagnosis: widespread, malignant cancer. The prognosis: not too hopeful.

Many cancer patients are told part truths or nothing at all, but it was clear that TAFT, because of his crucial political position, had to know. A committee of three, headed by his personal physician, told him.

It was late in the afternoon. The Senator was working a crossword puzzle.

The doctor said briskly, seriously, "Senator, we have arrived at a diagnosis. I am extremely unhappy to inform you of its nature."

TAFT took it without the flicker of an eye. The doctors expected him to ask how long he had to live. But he did not ask. Instead, Taftlike, he began to cross-question them and ask for more information.

He was told that he had an extremely rare form of cancer, mysterious in origin. All the painful and irritating tests and examinations to which he had been subjected in Washington and Cincinnati had failed to reveal the one thing his doctors wanted to know—where it started. Unless they could find out, a cure could probably not be expected.

ROMPED WITH GRANDCHILDREN

TAFT asked, "What shall I do now?"

He was advised to choose another hospital—one of the Nation's 5 or 6 great cancer treatment centers. There, the diagnosis could be checked again, a general, hold-the-line course of treatment gotten underway, and the search renewed for the source of the cancer.

TAFT left Holmes Hospital a week later, on crutches. He spent that evening with his grandchildren, romping, teasing, telling stories. One granddaughter took her current problem to him: "Grandfather," she asked, "was Jesus ever President of the United States?" TAFT laughed so hard his glasses flew off.

The next day he was back in Washington. He went straight home and sat down in his favorite armchair. After a moment he said quietly to Mrs. Darrah Wunder, an old family friend and constant companion of Mrs. Taft, "Well, I guess I have cancer. I'm going to take it easy and do as the doctor says."

That afternoon TAFT appeared in the Senate on his crutches. He told an evasive truth: "It's my hip muscle." Cortisone treatments in Cincinnati had removed much of the pain. He looked rested and cheerful. No one suspected the truth. TAFT felt a little uncomfortable about the deception but had decided upon it for two

reasons. First, he wanted to spare Martha Taft. Second, he earnestly felt that the success or failure of the Republican administration's first year in office rested on his ability to get the congressional decks cleared and ready for the President's extensive new legislative program, due in the fall. He had counted on a year for the job. He knew that he had much less time than that but, given a chance, he believed he could still do it. He let official Washington jump to the conclusion that he had arthritis.

VISIT FROM TRUMAN

TAFT made his first social appearance on crutches the following evening at a formal dinner party at the home of Secretary of State John Foster Dulles. He showed the crutches to all the guests. They were made of light-weight magnesium alloy. He waved them gaily and showed how nimbly he could hop up and down stairs. Someone there asked him how long he was going to be using them.

"I don't know," he said truthfully.

He continued to attend Senate sessions. His old fellow-Senator, Harry Truman, visiting on the Senate floor, stepped over to TAFT's desk and greeted him warmly.

"I noticed the crutches," Truman told us, "but to tell you the truth I hardly thought to ask about them. You'd never have thought he was sick. BOB TAFT was a man with a lot of guts."

TAFT realized that he could no longer put off another hospitalization. Steered by an old Yale classmate, he selected New York Hospital. It seemed an excellent choice. Only an hour by plane from Washington, it was a general hospital, not stamped in the public mind as a cancer refuge, yet it was close by Memorial Hospital, one of the world's leading cancer-research centers.

He was playing hide and seek with the press. His doctors advised him not to register under his own name. He finally decided on Howard Roberts, Jr., as an alias. He seemed to enjoy it hugely.

BACK TO WASHINGTON

In New York, cortisone treatments were continued for the hip, which had begun to pain him again, and the grueling routine of X-rays, tests, and prodding examinations begun again. The cortisone, at least, was successful.

The Senator kidded his physicians. "Now I know what ACTH stands for," he challenged. "After cortisone try Hadacol."

But no treatment could really hide what was happening. On June 10, TAFT flew back to Washington. He arrived at the Senate 20 minutes before the bell. On his crutches he swung heavily down the aisle to his front row seat. He was now very pale.

He had lost weight. His collar looked too big. He leaned over to whisper in the ear of California's Senator William Knowland. At the same moment a bulletin from Taft's office alerted the Press Gallery. His hip ailment was serious, it said, and for the remainder of the session the Senator was turning over the floor leadership to Senator Knowland.

The following day he got a telegram from President Eisenhower: "Take every step to restore your health. The country needs you." He made his will. He spent 7 hours at a committee hearing on labor and social welfare legislation. That evening he took Martha to a party. Then he went back to New York Hospital. This time he registered under his right name.

TWO FAMOUS VISITORS

TAFT had two notable callers that week. One was Herbert Hoover who, at 79, is still respectfully called the Chief. TAFT had begun his political career as Hoover's protege on the Allied famine relief organization in Paris in 1917. The two talked earnestly for some time. When Hoover returned to his apartment in the Waldorf-Astoria, he called a friend among the doctors at the hospital and worriedly demanded to know what was wrong with BOB TAFT. They told him.

TAFT'S second visitor was New York's governor, Thomas E. Dewey. Although each respected the other tremendously, TAFT was not quite ready to forget that Dewey had thrown a decisive amount of weight against him in the Republican convention. They chatted amiably enough, however. It was only after the Governor had departed that TAFT turned to a nurse with a wink and said, "Tom came around to see whether I am really out of the running."

STILL AT WORK

He did his best to prove he wasn't. The last week in June he got himself out of bed and returned to Washington. It was swelteringly hot, but the Senator bustled busily in and out of committee rooms. Herbert Hoover, who had been shocked to hear the doctors' verdict only a few days before, dropped into a meeting in Vice President Nixon's office and was astounded to see TAFT there.

After the meeting, Mr. Hoover scolded the Senator for having left the hospital. TAFT replied, "You know what is the matter with me. I know what is the matter with me. But I'm going to die with my boots on."

The Senator attended a "brunch" where he ate waffles, asked for beer, and told a joke about an old lady who confounded her

doctors by refusing to have fits. He made a 10-cent bet with a Senate page boy that the Yankess would play in the series and win in six games. He bought four new shirts and spent several hours with a Sears Roebuck & Co. catalog picking out a new refrigerator for his Georgetown house.

He was postponing a decision. His doctors had advised him to undergo an exploratory operation. They felt that the cancer source must be somewhere in the abdominal cavity, quite possibly in the pancreas, and that it was worth taking a chance to find out.

TAFT was not afraid of the operation but he was reluctant to sacrifice the time. Meanwhile his old friend, Lewis Strauss, head of the Atomic Energy Commission, found it hard to believe that TAFT's case was so desperate. In an agonized conversation with President Eisenhower he insisted that science ought to be able to do more. The President advised him to investigate. Strauss called doctors at Memorial Hospital and urged them to see if some of the newer cancer treatments could save TAFT's life.

MAKING HIS DECISION

That week a group of New York specialists came to Washington. TAFT willingly submitted to another exhausting series of tests. When they had finished, he called them together with his other physicians at his home to hear the results. The news was bad. There was no sign, they told him, that this case would respond to any of the new treatments.

In the silence that followed, the Senator passed around a tray of drinks. Then he said, "Well, I am not satisfied just to sit around absorbing cortisone. If I want a fighting chance, I've got to do something more radical. I guess I'd better have that operation."

On July 4 he flew back to New York. Checking back into the hospital he paused long enough to tell the press that he had advised Mutual Security Director Harold Stassen to prepare to submit to the next Congress a program to wind up foreign aid. Thus he cleverly drew a veil of political and journalistic excitement over his now crucial physical condition.

LIKED THE VIEW

The weather was uncomfortably warm now and the hospital put its distinguished patient into a room that boasted a window-sill air conditioner. TAFT had it removed at once. He said it spoiled his view. He liked to look out at the tugboats and barges cruising up and down the East River.

The exploratory operation took place on July 8. An incision was made in the abdominal cavity and the organs and tissue thoroughly

examined. But although the cancer was widely distributed there was no indication whatever of the place where it had started.

The Senator was calm about the failure of the operation. He had not allowed himself to hope too much. When one of the surgeons visited him the next day and complained that he had mislaid his glasses, TAFT clapped a hand to his belly and chuckled, "Goodness, I hope I haven't got them."

He recovered from the surgery faster than anyone thought he could. Gen. Albert Wedemeyer visited him. TAFT clutched his arm and told him. "I've got to snap out of this in a hurry now. Eisenhower needs me."

A FLOOD OF LETTERS

TAFT liked to read the mail that came flooding in from the public. Nearly everyone recommended cures. He was advised to rub himself with camphor oil, drink sea water, go on a diet of rice and watermelon. Dozens of baskets of fruit and flowers arrived daily and he sent them to the children's wards. Many offered to give blood.

He grew restless and homesick. His condition seemed to him to be stabilized. Once more he began saying impatiently, "What am I doing here? I ought to be back at work. I'm much too well."

His doctors used every kind of persuasion to keep him where he was. A young resident physician was very successful—he involved him in long political arguments. The two covered, point by point, all the major issues around which the Senator's long political life had revolved. When they ran out of rebuttals, they worked at crossword puzzles.

One morning TAFT was unable to complete the puzzle that appeared in one of the three newspapers he read each day. He was hurt and bewildered.

"Why, I know those words," he protested. "I just can't seem to remember them."

To his doctors the failure was significant. Within a day or so the Senator began to draw more and more mental blanks. The cancer had reached his brain. He lapsed into brief periods of coma.

Word was sent to his family that the end was near. Mrs. Wunder gently told her old friend Mrs. Taft that her husband's condition had taken a grave turn for the worse. Martha took it so calmly that the family decided she had probably suspected the real nature of his illness for a long time.

"I didn't think BOB could fool Martha," they told one another. "They were too close. She was just playing the game the way he wanted it."

On July 28 a chartered plane carried Martha Taft, the Senator's sister, Helen Taft Manning, Jack Martin, TAFT's able administrative assistant now on the White House staff, and others of the family, from Washington to New York. TAFT was only half-conscious. A nurse said, "Mrs. Taft is here to see you."

MARTHA'S LAST VISIT

An amazing change came over the Senator. Doctors in attendance were startled. He raised himself on an elbow and called out strongly, "Crank up the bed. Get me an extra pillow. Here, help me sit up."

It was a mighty effort. When his wife was wheeled into the room, he said, "Well, Martha." He leaned forward and put both arms around her. He kissed her and laid his cheek against hers. He told her he was glad to see her looking so well.

The visit lasted 15 minutes. Martha Taft's last glimpse of her husband showed him sitting up, waving cheerfully and smiling his famous win-or-lose, campaign grin.

A few minutes later he collapsed. He closed his eyes and slid into a coma from which he never really emerged. He was unconscious all the next day and he died on July 31 at 11:30 a. m.

An autopsy was performed a few hours later and the hospital report finally revealed the hiding place of the mysterious parent cancer. It was lodged in one of the branches of the air tube leading to the lower half of the right lung. It was about the size of the rubber tip of an ordinary lead pencil.

UNFINISHED BUSINESS

In April TAFT's condition had been just bad enough to make him feel short of breath in the middle of a good game of golf. Now, just 3 months later, the man of whom it was said, "He was born to be President" was dead. Piled on a chair in the light, airy hospital room where he died was a very small heap of unfinished Senate business. He had wanted to get it all out of the way before he went, and he almost made it.

One of the doctors told us, "He was about the best loser I have ever seen. He gave us all a lesson in how to die."

Remarks by Senator Kennedy

Of Massachusetts

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the Record my statement of December 6, 1953, nominating the late Senator ROBERT A. TAFT, of Ohio, as Man of the Year for 1953.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

STATEMENT BY SENATOR JOHN F. KENNEDY

My nominee for the man of the year in 1953 is the late Senator ROBERT A. TAFT, of Ohio. Sometimes a nation's illustrious dead remain among its most influential men. Their character and personality are sometimes so strong and all-pervading that their influence continues to endure after death.

I sat on a different side of the aisle in the Senate from Senator TAFT and across the table from him on the Labor Committee. As a member of a different party, I did not agree with him on all issues, but we could always rely on him to state his views ably and frankly. His greatest value, however, was in his integrity as a leader of diverse elements, as one whose responsibilities of leadership were fulfilled with such fidelity and fairness that his loss was a heavy blow to all Americans.

Nineteen hundred and fifty-three brought to the forefront those shining qualities which place him for all time in the company of Webster, Clay, and Norris and the other great leaders of the Congress. For his valiant effort to be to America what Churchill is to Great Britain, for being so right in his mind that he kept the respect of those of us who thought him wrong in some of his ideas; for showing the Nation how a man who is big enough to deserve victory knows how to take defeat; for the inspiration his career must be to all those who share in his patriotic aspirations—I nominate for the man of the year the late Senior Senator from the State of Ohio—ROBERT A. TAFT.

Remarks by Representative Bow

Of Ohio

Mr. BOW. Mr. Speaker, today the Congress paid its final respects to one of the greatest leaders in the history of our Nation—ROBERT A. TAFT.

Every Member of Congress recognized Senator TAFT's wonderful devotion to his country, and his belief in speaking and acting forthrightly, regardless of possible political repercussions. These magnificent characteristics possessed by BOB TAFT were also recognized by the average citizen throughout America.

Eulogies of TAFT are by this time almost too numerous to count. However, as one who had the great good fortune to know BOB TAFT for many years, I know that too much praise can never be spoken of him. Under leave to extend my remarks, I therefore wish to insert in the Record a wonderful editorial from the Massillon (Ohio) Evening Independent of August 1, 1953.

The Evening Independent's entire editorial is excellent. Most significant statement in the editorial, in my opinion, is the editor's comment that "BOB TAFT never straddled the fence on any issue."

How true. What a great indication of those characteristics of honesty and sincerity which were TAFT's trademarks, and which made all who knew him, respect him, even when they did not agree with his point of view. To be so respected by one's opponents is the true mark of greatness.

The editorial follows:

BOB TAFT

Death has stilled the voice of ROBERT A. TAFT and taken from the Nation one of its greatest and most courageous and capable public servants.

BOB TAFT, son of a President, a native of Cincinnati, Ohio, and a man who became recognized as one of the ablest and best informed Government officials in Washington, died Friday noon in New York Hospital where he had been a patient for several weeks.

Cancer cut short the illustrious career of this outstanding American. He died at the age of 63.

A bulwark of the Republican Party for years—so much so, in fact, that he became known as "Mr. Republican"—Senator TAFT, however, never gained his greatest goal—President of the United States. Always a prominent contender during the last four presidential compaigns, Senator TAFT never won sufficient support in his own party to become its presidential standard bearer.

His last bid came a year ago when he again lost the nomination, this time to Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower who went on to be elected President in November.

To those who are expert in writing eulogies and to historians of the future we will leave the task of placing BOB TAFT in his rightful position in the affairs of this Nation.

Everyone in this country—and throughout the world—knew of BOB TAFT and his record as a public servant. Not everyone agreed with TAFT and TAFT not always agreed with those within his own party.

But whether one liked or disliked BOB TAFT, his most outspoken critics have to agree that BOB TAFT was a man who possessed a brilliant intellect, was honest to the core, and, right or wrong, had courage to stand up and fight for his convictions.

BOB TAFT never straddled the fence on any issue and in defeat he never sulked or displayed a vicious attitude. The manner in which TAFT supported Eisenhower in the general's successful campaign last fall was an indication of TAFT's greatness.

The Nation mourns the passing of a brilliant statesman.

Every American is the loser because death stepped in and cut short BOB TAFT's life at a time when his counsel and leadership were so badly needed and so helpful to a new Federal administration just beginning to find its way around in Washington's tangled Government affairs.

Few men have ever attained TAFT's measure of greatness or won the high esteem in which he was held by those who knew him or were familiar with his record.

The Nation has lost a great public servant—a man of unquestioned integrity, intelligence, and courage—a combination quite rare in public life today.

And last but not least by any means the Nation has lost a great American.

ROBERT ALPHONSO TAFT

BOB TAFT was a great American because, first and last, his energies and thoughts were directed to keeping America great and safeguarding for its people the precious liberties handed down to us by the Founding Fathers.

It will be hard to replace BOB TAFT—the man and public servant—who dedicated his life to his country—and who died fighting for its preservation.

Mr. BOW. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include in the Record a magnificent editorial from the Canton (Ohio) Repository of August 1, paying tribute to the late Senator ROBERT A. TAFT.

This fine editorial symbolizes the tremendous respect, the high esteem often approaching reverence, in which BOB TAFT was held by the people of the great State of Ohio whom he so ably represented. It is an editorial which touches the heart, because it succeeds in conveying in relatively few words the primary facts of that stanch and forthright character which caused BOB TAFT to be admired by so many million Americans:

ROBERT A. TAFT

His countrymen were not prepared for the death of ROBERT A. TAFT, their most respected legislator.

Not only did it happen too quickly but it left them with no replacement.

Senator TAFT was a rallying point for public confidence in government. His flawless integrity had become one of the foundations of this Republic.

Millions of Americans with all shades of political beliefs shared the common conviction that Senator TAFT was on the job and would never let them down.

It is a comfort to know that this had been made abundantly clear to him long before his health failed. He knew why he had become the foremost symbol of his party and, more recently, the foremost symbol of representative democracy.

America's chances of survival are better because he proved it is possible to stand up for principles and survive the most ruthless attacks of determined opponents.

Life has been a prouder experience for millions of Americans because he showed how to make the most of the dignity bestowed on man by the power to reason—to weigh evidence and to reach objective judgments.

The prospect for public service in America is brighter because an Ohio Senator endured the vilest mischief which could be compounded against him and rose to ever greater stature on a basis of his devotion to the public welfare.

The United States will get along somehow without this man who had become uniquely important to it by virtue of his intellect, conscience, sense of fairness, and courage. But its citizens pray there may be another one like him to serve as a reminder of what representative democracy can be at its best.

A special kind of grief is shared by those who knew Senator TAFT in his role as a devoted husband, proud father, and good friend—and who often wished more Americans could share their appreciation of the man behind the name.

They are thinking particularly of Mrs. Taft, whose companionship meant so much to him. They are thinking of his family.

They are thinking of those who worked with him—who were bound to him by the strongest ties of personal loyalty because they knew their loyalty was justified. They are thinking of all the people who relied on his judgment and example because they knew him well.

All these have sustained a very great loss of a kind apart from the loss sustained by America.

Considering its extent, we can be sure that ROBERT A. TAFT must have been a man of greater stature than it is likely to be our privilege to see again for a long time to come.

Remarks by Representative Jonas

Of North Carolina

Mr. JONAS of North Carolina. Mr. Speaker, the Record for August 1, 1953, contains many moving tributes to the memory of the late Senator ROBERT A. TAFT. Most of these tributes were delivered by friends who had known him intimately for many years. As I listened to their eulogies, I noted that each came from a heavy heart. There were many misty eyes in the House Chamber.

I was not privileged to be numbered among those who could claim close personal friendship with Senator TAFT. I had met him on numerous occasions, but our acquaintance was casual and impersonal. I had looked forward during my service here to the opportunity of working with him and getting to know him better. But during the early days of this session he was busy with the responsibilities of leadership in the Senate and I was busy trying to learn how to be a Representative. After he was stricken, there was never any opportunity to extend our relationship.

Senator TAFT had the ability to attract personal loyalty and devotion rarely equaled in modern times. The tributes delivered on this floor prove that beyond question. I can appreciate the feeling of those who, in addition to their recognition that America has suffered a grievous blow in the passing of this great man, feel a deep sense of personal loss in the realization that they have had to give up a loyal and warm-hearted friend.

But I speak for the millions of Americans who mourn his passing as a great loss to our country in one of the most trying and difficult periods in our history. Our shock and realization that our country will not hereafter benefit by

his wise counsel and leadership is not based upon personal friendship but upon our appraisal of the man from afar.

The finest accolade one can receive in this life is the "well done" which is bestowed by the people upon those who have kept the faith. No one can doubt that Senator TAFT earned that award and the millions of heavy hearts in America today attest it.

Remarks by Representative Cretella

Of Connecticut

Mr. CRETELLA. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I include a recent article from the Meriden Record:

SENATOR CAME AS A SCHOOLBOY—CONNECTICUT WAS TAFT'S SECOND HOME

NEW HAVEN, July 31.—Although ROBERT A. TAFT, who died today, lived in Ohio and represented that State in the Senate, Connecticut was his second home.

This State had known him since he was a schoolboy at the Taft School in Watertown, founded by his late uncle, Horace Taft.

It knew him as a Yale undergraduate, as a member of the Yale Corp., as a frequent visitor here at the home of his son, William Howard Taft III, Ambassador to Ireland, and all of Connecticut came to know him last year as a hard-hitting political campaigner.

In his drive for the Republican presidential nomination, TAFT made three Connecticut appearances in 1952, although he knew the cards were stacked against him as Governor Lodge, Republican State Chairman Clarence F. Baldwin, and other party organization leaders were openly for General Eisenhower.

His Connecticut campaign appearances, drawing audiences ranging from 1,000 to 1,700, were at New Haven on March 5, at Willimantic on April 14, and at Hartford on May 8.

TAFT was graduated from Yale in 1910, following in the footsteps of his grandfather, Alphonso Taft (class of 1833), and his father, the late President William Howard Taft (class of 1878).

TAFT'S brother, Charles, also was a Yale graduate (class of 1918), and the Senator's four sons, William Howard III, Robert, Lloyd, and Horace, all are Yale graduates. Their classes were 1937, 1939, 1944, and 1949, respectively.

TAFT'S father lived in New Haven and taught at the Yale Law School for 8 years, from 1913 to 1921, after leaving the White House.

As a Yale undergraduate, TAFT gave promise of the career that lay before him. He was president of the university debating team and president of the Yale chapter of Phi Beta Kappa, honorary scholastic fraternity.

He was not athletically inclined, but the 1910 class book shows that he rowed for the sophomore crew in interclass competition.

He had been a member of the Yale Corp. since 1936, serving on such important committees as those on educational policy, architectural plans, and honorary degrees.

Yale President A. Whitney Griswold issued this statement:

"Yale mourns the loss of one of her most distinguished graduates. We are all shocked and saddened by this sudden tragedy. Although Senator TAFT gave himself unsparingly to his public duties, he had a devoted interest in Yale and managed to find time in his busy life to maintain that interest.

"As a fellow of the Yale Corp. since 1936, he served Yale faithfully and forcefully as he did the Nation. Yale extends to his family her deepest sympathy."

A statement of regret also came from Republican State Chairman Clarence F. Baldwin, who said:

"The United States has lost a great statesman and the Republican Party a great leader in TAFT.

"I know the members of the Connecticut Republican Party join with me in extending my sympathy to the members of Senator TAFT's family."

Remarks by Representative Frelinghuysen

Of New Jersey

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. Mr. Speaker, in common with my colleagues and countless millions of citizens throughout the country, I feel a very real sense of loss in the passing of Senator ROBERT A. TAFT. His untimely death comes as a severe shock to the entire Nation. The loss is a grievous one. He was one of this country's most distinguished and useful public servants. Although he never achieved his ambition to become President, Senator TAFT—like Henry Clay in his day—shaped the political philosophy and destinies of the Nation.

Much has been said about Senator TAFT by many people, and I should like now to comment on only one aspect of his character. BOB TAFT was a fighter for his principles. He did not accept the easy generalizations on which so many in public life rely. He thought a problem through, and held to his convictions tenaciously. He insisted on exploring the facts of a given situation, and forced others to think about all sides of complex issues. Although some may have not agreed with all his conclusions, young and old alike benefited from the clarity of his thinking, his tenacity of purpose, his unquestioned integrity, and his devotion to his country.

In conclusion, Mr. Speaker, I should like to include an editorial from the Christian Science Monitor of August 1, 1953. In describing the qualities which distinguished Senator TAFT, it epitomizes the countless editorials and eulogies which have appeared not only in this country but throughout the world.

The editorial is as follows:

SENATOR TAFT: A TOWERING FIGURE

Within the last 6 months the public services of Senator ROBERT A. TAFT, of Ohio, have risen to the highest levels of his long and

prominent career, exerting a power seldom wielded from outside the White House.

To him belonged an exceptional intellect, rare force of character, and a blunt honesty which the country respected. Without any of the gifts of histrionics and few of the arts of affability, he nevertheless held a position of undisputed congressional leadership in his party by breadth of information, depth of conviction, and even a genial warmth known best to his close associates.

It was natural that he should aspire to the office his father, William Howard Taft, had held as President of the United States. His college day memories were of the White House, where he met Martha Bowers, the future Mrs. Taft, mother of their four sons and a witty, effective member of the "Bob and Martha" campaign team.

Into his aspiration he put not only hard, steady political work, through the Ohio Legislature into the United States Senate and three presidential nominating conventions, but also a downright insistence on conservative political principles in which he never lacked the courage to risk, even defy, unpopularity.

This paid off notably in connection with the most prominent piece of Federal legislation to bear his name—the Taft-Hartley Act on labor relations. Challenged by the Truman administration and labor union leadership in his last race for reelection to the Senate, he won by the largest plurality ever recorded for that office in Ohio. And though the act was attacked as a "slave labor law," he was able to point out that labor organizations continued to grow under it.

Yet he was not so conservative but that on at least three subjects he occupied a more liberal position than the extreme right wing of his party. These included legislation for public housing, for Federal aid to education, and for medical services that would offset the New Deal demand for health insurance.

It was in the field of foreign policy that Senator TAFT probably strove most industriously to establish for himself a line of reasoning which he felt was in keeping with the temper of the people and with the interests of the United States. Many felt that he failed fully to grasp the dangers that beset America in the international field, yet they could not say that he was wholly unsympathetic to the needs of a defense beyond the hemisphere.

Mr. TAFT was a very complex man. Because his acute legal mind grasped distinctions not easy to convey to the layman and balked at imperfect measures or broad delegations of power, he sometimes appeared inconsistent to his critics, but he believed his

positions to be coherent and sound, and not even his opponents doubted his integrity.

The final year of his career gave the Nation reason, moreover, to credit him with a magnanimity, a largeness of character, and an ability to surmount disappointment which more than ever entitled him to be called Mr. Republican. Through most of the first congressional session under a Republican administration in 20 years he was a pillar of strength to President Eisenhower and his party. It is perhaps in that role that Mr. TAFT deserves most to be remembered.

Remarks by Representative Jenkins

Of Ohio

Mr. JENKINS. Mr. Speaker, the Morgan County Herald, published in southeastern Ohio, recently carried a very beautiful editorial concerning the life accomplishments of BOB TAFT. This editorial was written by Wilbur D. Matson, who has long been known for his ability as an editorial writer. The editorial is as follows:

A GREAT AMERICAN HAS FALLEN

"This above all; to thine own self be true, and it must follow, as the night the day, thou can'st not then be false to any man." What Shakespeare said in these lines from Hamlet was, perhaps, the polestar, the guiding light, in the life of ROBERT A. TAFT. In all, he was true to himself, to his inner conviction of right and wrong. Once convinced that he was right, no consideration of personal advancement was permitted to sway or change the course of his direction.

It happened to fall to our lot to three times have the honor of voting for ROBERT A. TAFT as Ohio's favorite son for President. Our pathways crossed during a more active period in life and, while we lay no claim to intimacy with this great man, we were friends with a common philosophy of government. Knowing him as we did personally, we developed a profound respect for his ability, his character, his rugged honesty, and wrote much in his behalf, as our files attest. When he was engaged in his great senatorial battle in 1950, from a sickbed we were able to reach many of the Ohio papers through letters to the editor, urging his election.

Frankly, we never considered the Senator as what is called a good politician. He was a statesman. Self-seeking and demagogery were abhorrent and far removed from his character. Shunning always what was expedient, he did what was right in a faith that time would justify his course. When the infamous Nuremberg trials were in progress, Taft felt a deep sense of outrage that a fallen enemy should be tried under ex post facto laws, tailored for the occasion. Politically, he certainly had nothing to gain by this stand and much to lose. War passions were still burning and hatred of the Nazis overbalanced a sense of fairness in the minds

of the public who were tired of "German wars." Again in the mass sedition indictments, he spoke out fearlessly against the violation of rights of the individual, guaranteed under the Federal Constitution. Certainly, neither of these positions could be called, from the standpoint of serving his own interests, good politics.

In 1946, following the regaining of control of Congress by the Republicans, Mr. TAFT could have had the chairmanship of any committee which he chose. He selected the Senate Labor Committee—admittedly one potent with political dynamite. To the average small-fry politicians, say "labor vote" and he will shake in his boots and flee as though from the plague. No party leader was ever more strongly denounced than was Mr. TAFT who was charged with sponsorship of what, by organized labor, was dubbed a "slave-labor act." He defended his course without retreating an inch, in a knowledge that this measure sought only to do justice to both labor and employer. That he was able to carry every great labor center in Ohio in 1950, was a personal triumph which has few parallels in American politics. Organized labor came to look upon him as an honest man, not an enemy, but a friend.

Mr. TAFT consistently hated the New Deal as "creeping socialism." He was among the first to view the New Deal as an assault upon all of those things which we have heretofore been pleased to call American. He early foresaw that this challenge to our constitutional form of government and to free enterprise, was the real great issue of the day. He and ex-President Hoover, perhaps more than any other great Republican leaders, led the fight which saved the party from dissolution and helped prevent the Nation from traveling down the primrose path to state socialism.

Senator TAFT believed that two strong parties are essential to good government. He was aware that too often political organizations, especially if long continued in power, became corrupt. He also knew that the individual will not get all but most of what he believes in, if his party wins. He believed in party responsibility and thought it was better to stand for fixed and definite principles and party platform pledges, enacted into law following the election. Personal politics, according to his creed, lead to dictatorships. As the great champion and leader of his party, he became known as Mr. Republican. Loyalty to party explains how he could subdue personal feelings and go along with the party majority. It explains how he could support Eisenhower after a bitter contest for the grand prize at Chicago. Had it been otherwise, the GOP today would probably be ready to gasp its last and torn into hopeless factionalism.

Senator TAFT would have been illustrious in any session of the Senate which has convened since the foundation of the Republic. He was universally accorded as leader of a body which, at one time, numbered such giants as Henry Clay, Daniel Webster, and John C. Calhoun. Democrats, no less than Republicans, respected his long experience and his preeminent wisdom and sought his views on matters of great importance, confronting the Congress.

From youth, ROBERT A. TAFT was intellectually outstanding. He was first in his class at Yale; first in his class at Harvard law school, and first in the class which took the Ohio bar examination in 1913. He had all the attributes which make a great political leader and statesman, a fine, logical, analytical mind; tremendous energy and the ability to punish himself with long hours of work. When he discussed a public question, he had the facts and was ready to present his case fully and informatively to the public.

The Senator was on the square. No one could look into his clear blue eyes and his frank, open countenance without an awareness that here was a man free from guile and deceit; who was honest and who would tell you what he believed to be the truth. Although spending almost a lifetime in public service, with his every action subject to the full glare of pitiless publicity, no one ever questioned his high character, and the singular purity of his private life or impugned the sincerity of his motives.

Senator TAFT loved to visit Morgan County, formerly the home of a large number of Republican stalwarts who believed in his political creed and who usually went along with his views on public questions. His visits here were generally a personal triumph, with a warmth of welcome which seemed to give him a lift. Perhaps he had more dependable political friends per capita in Morgan than in any other county in Ohio.

It is a personal opinion that TAFT and Hoover were the great, outstanding Americans of the past four decades. Both were profound thinkers; both were widely experienced by a lifetime in public affairs; both were inherently honest and possessed the highest character; both patriotically gave unstintedly of themselves and their great abilities to the service of you and me—all who love the Republic and the flag of the free. TAFT is gone and, at 79 years of age the 10th of this month, Herbert Hoover begins his last great public service as Chairman of the Committee to Reorganize the Executive Department of the Government. Had a majority followed the leadership of TAFT and Hoover, we doubt if America would have been in the Second World War, or any police action in Korea. We would not have been in our present admitted "mess," lost in the maze of a foreign policy beyond understanding; nor would we be

swamped with debt, taxed to the limit, with the budget out of balance, and the threat of inflation hanging over our heads.

In Pilgrim's Progress, John Bunyan thus chronicles the death of Mr. Valiant. "Then said he, I am going to my Father's; and though with great difficulty I have got hither, yet now I do not repent me of all the trouble I have been at to arrive where I am. My sword I give to him that shall succeed me in my pilgrimage, and my courage and skill to him that can get it. My marks and scars I carry with me, to be a witness for me that I have fought His battles who will now be my rewarder. When the day that he must go hence was come, many accompanied him to the riverside, into which, as he went, he said, 'Death, where is thy sting.' And as he went down deeper, he said 'Grave, where is thy victory.' So he passed over, and all the trumpets sounded for him on the other side."

One of the greatest of America's sons has fallen. Who shall fill his place in this period of world upheaval and of national and international stress? To whom in Ohio or in the Nation shall his sword be handed in a troubled hour? The loss of this great man at such a time, is a national and a world calamity. Columbia bows her head in grief.

Remarks by Representative Reece

Of Tennessee

Mr. REECE of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include a eulogy on the late Senator ROBERT A. TAFT, over radio station WDIA, by Lt. George W. Lee, Memphis, Tenn., who seconded his nomination at Chicago.

Lieutenant Lee has been a devoted friend of Senator TAFT for many years. His address on his death is one which I think Senator TAFT's friends should have opportunity to read, and for this reason I would like to have it included in the Record among his eulogies.

Lieutenant Lee's address follows:

Now Senator ROBERT A. TAFT has come to the end of his day, and his mourners are as thick as grief. He has lived and he has died. The world, today, stands ready to recognize him among the great ones, among its heroes without laurels, among its conquerors without the jubilations of conquest. Soon his body will be laid to rest under the moonmist skies of beautiful Ohio, but the soul of Senator Taft won't be there. It will be somewhere over there beyond the purple horizon in the company of George Washington, Abraham Lincoln, Theodore Roosevelt, and all the other great crusaders who have blazed the trails where highways never ran.

Three sentences can sum up his greatness: He had the courage to precede the truth. He had the courage to embrace the truth. He had the courage to execute the truth. He was a study in the achievement of character, marvelous in his greatness.

I have heard hundreds of malicious charges brought against Senator ROBERT TAFT by people who I am sure should know better; these charges were always of two kinds: Senator TAFT was a poor vote getter because his personality was cold and blunt. The second was, Senator TAFT did not like Negroes and Jews. My faith mothers the belief that the people who made these charges did not check the facts, to find out the truth, so they've gone on repeating them without the slightest realization of their monstrousness. A successful campaign in Ohio wiped from my palate

the ingenious flavors of the first charge. His successful fight that drove the late Senator Theodore Bilbo out of the Congress of the Nation proved that this second charge was but a mixture of Pierian spring water and sweet lemonade. Senator TAFT performed a great service to the fortunes of minority groups, and particularly to colored Americans, when he kept the late Senator Bilbo from regaining his seat in the Senate. Senator Bilbo had spent his time in his high office trying to punish the minority groups in spiteful vengeance for some calamity brought about by the greed or stupidity of all groups together. Mr. TAFT set out to prove in his fight against Senator Bilbo that many of the limitations for which the Negro was accused are due to the depressed racial status. Mr. TAFT was led on by the belief that Senator Bilbo's program to ship the Negro out of America, repudiated our Constitution and denied every syllable or meaning in the story of America. But let us suppose that Mr. TAFT had not succeeded in destroying the Bilbo philosophy, and every Negro in America had been driven to some strange home across the seas. How would America have benefited? What advantages would have come to bless the land?

The next few days after the Negro had gone, there would have been just as many crimes committed in the land, the prisons would have been just as crowded, graft and corruption would not have been diminished among the officeholders in Washington, the gallant 24th Infantry, and thousands of other colored soldiers would not be fighting in Korea, telephone strikes and steel strikes would still go on, so Mr. TAFT in his opposition to this program must have seen no gain, while on the other hand, he must have been urged on by the thought of the loss the country would sustain by the loss of its Negro population—the loss of America's folk songs that rose in quick tears and laughter from the unhappy heart of man. The loss of millions of kind and loyal people. The loss of George Washington Carver, Ralph Bunche, of Marian Anderson, J. Finley Wilson, and hundreds of other first-rate examples of the American business and professional career. All this and more, TAFT saw when he cried, "the country cannot be half Bilbo and half free."

A search of history fails to disclose his likeness. He organized his own ideas and directed them with the sagaciousness of an outstanding success. He was called the master lawmaker, but he dealt in more than rules to govern actions.

They say through his veins flowed the proudest blood of two continents. But he still was the personification of the common man, expressed and admirable. They say he was the unspoiled son of fortune, but his greatest wealth was his commonsense,

seasoned with experience and unshackled by fetters of fear. They say his personality was complex and repellent, but his greatest offense was that he dared to think, and once he got the thought right in his mind, he could not be moved by the ceremonies of human judgment.

Where did he get his grasp of the affairs of state? Ask Pericles of Athens, ask Marcus Aurelius of Rome. Where did he get his understanding of people and his firm grasp of the problems pressing our domestic front? Ask God who spoke to Moses at Sinai, and Paul on the Damascus Road.

It was apparent to Mr. TAFT that if there was any threat to the United States from Russia, free-handed spending to support other nations was not going to prevent war or assure peace. It was apparent to Mr. TAFT that if the strong arms of the Government can reach into every home in America, and pick the strongest and best boy with no thought of color, and send that boy to the most remote frontiers to fight for democracy, surely that same boy should have an equal chance to vote and have a job back home.

It was apparent that Senator TAFT favored a constellation FEPC, but nevertheless he was willing to support all the necessary enforcement features to make it work, if such a bill had been fairly tried for a minimum of 2 years and had proven to be ineffective.

Over the fortunes of my people, above their hopes, amid their anxious tears, Senator TAFT has stood and fought for an atmosphere in which we might live, where joy and hope come down in the twin kisses of encouragement and faith, unloose the ancient muscles against despair.

Remarks by Representative Bush

Of Pennsylvania

Mr. BUSH. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I am including the following editorial from the Williamsport Sun of August 1, 1953:

LOST: A STEADY HAND

"Senator TAFT is dead"—that was the word which spread swiftly across America Friday afternoon.

It was heard at lunch counters, in the stores of the Nation, at its gas service stations. It was announced by newspaper bulletins, over public address systems in manufacturing plants, and by radio.

Wherever men gathered the sad news passed from mouth to mouth. And uniformly there was sorrow.

You did not ask whether the friend with whom you spoke, or the casual acquaintance to whom you passed the news, was a Republican or a Democrat. It didn't matter whether he was prolabor or antiunion. His race, his color, his creed made no difference.

On every hand it was recognized that a great American had died.

Divergent opinions about him, and about the public issues he had championed in his lifetime, were waved aside out of respect for the fine qualities of the man.

Friend and political foe alike realized this Nation has lost one of its most accomplished public figures. His integrity, his courage, his mastery of public business, his intellectual capacities, and his patriotism stamped him as America's leading statesman.

It is true that the great ambition of his life was denied him. Son of President William Howard Taft, he wanted to succeed his father in the White House. Four times he sought the Republican nomination; lost it in the Republican convention of 1952 by the narrowest of margins.

Men of lesser stature would have been crushed by such heartbreaking rejection. But TAFT rose above personal disappointment. Refused the captaincy, he consented to be a lieutenant under the man who defeated him. Happily, he lived long enough to prove himself a loyal lieutenant—the chief lieutenant—of his party's first President in 20 years.

He lived long enough to unite the Republican Party back of President Eisenhower. Had "Mr. Republican" sulked in his tent

after the 1952 convention, had he remained aloof in the Senate, had he pot-shotted the Eisenhower program, he could have done irreparable harm to his own party and to his country.

But he spurned such an ignoble, though natural role. Instead, disregarding his own disappointments, he dedicated his great talents to his country. He worked for the public good with no show of bitterness toward those who had frustrated his presidential ambitions.

As a result, he welded together his party, bolstered the President, guided the Senate into a sane course, and strengthened the unity of the Nation.

His greatest contribution has been made as Senate majority leader—as the man whose steady hand was on the helm while a new pilot was learning the channel.

He won the affection of this Nation in the last months of his life because he could rise above crushing defeat without sulking—because neither foes nor loving friends could turn him from the path of duty.

Mr. BUSH. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I am including the following editorial from the Mansfield Advertiser of August 1, 1953:

THE PEOPLE HONORED HIM

Illogical as it may seem Senator TAFT was held in high esteem by a large following of the American people, although it was said that he could not be elected President, as he had so long desired. From the eulogies that have been printed and spoken over the radio, and from the large crowds that have passed by his casket in the Capitol, it is easily seen that the people did realize that Senator TAFT was a great statesman, and one that this Nation will miss.

Since we have always been an admirer of Senator TAFT, we can say without reservation that next to Herbert Hoover he was the biggest man in the Nation. Both of these men were victims of smear campaigns, which were repeated over and over again by people who knew neither of the men. And it took time to bring more people to realize the greatness of Hoover and it has taken death to make more of them realize the greatness of TAFT.

This country had in TAFT, a man of high principles and ideals, he was thoroughly honest in politics, and also was a deep student and a man of ability. He was a practicing Christian, not one given to lip service only.

During the last several administrations he has seemingly been a misfit, because so many in Washington could not understand

his ideas of integrity, of Americanism, and of fair play. The Truman administration especially played up this difference in their efforts to discredit him, but it only rebounded on Truman and his friends.

It had been a long ambition of Senator TAFT to succeed his father, William Howard Taft, in being President of the United States. TAFT has stood aside to make room for others, until his friends insisted that he be a candidate in the last campaign, even though people said that he could not be elected. He lost to General Eisenhower, but showed his character and statesmanship by almost immediately joining forces with Eisenhower to work for the best interests of the Nation and its people. It is to be hoped that the work that he started will be continued by some other Republican of as great integrity.

Mr. BUSH. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I am including the following editorial from the Lock Haven (Pa.) Express of August 1, 1953:

SENATOR TAFT

It is always sad when a man of integrity and ability is removed, tragically and untimely, from the scene of public activity. In the case of Senator ROBERT A. TAFT, the tragedy of death, coming too soon, has evoked sincere expressions of grief from those who were his devoted friends, and his consistent foes, and from all who admire a man who does not compromise his principles to win power or popularity.

In the comment that has followed the death of Mr. TAFT, there has been speculation on what might have been, if he had been nominated as the Republican candidate for the Presidency in last year's national convention. Such speculation is hardly appropriate, we think, at a time when the contributions of Mr. TAFT are of far more significance than tasteless guessing about who might have been his running mate if he had been the nominee, who might now be stepping into the Presidency if TAFT had been elected President.

All that is in the realm of fantasy.

But there was no fantasy about the behavior of Senator TAFT during the months which have followed the election of his rival for the Republican nomination. In that time, the Senator from Ohio has set an example of greatness which is worthy of the emulation of every disappointed public man—and of every private person, as well. He did not retire into a corner to lick his wounds,

and to watch balefully to pounce on every scintilla of evidence that the other fellow was making mistakes he himself might have avoided. On the other hand, Senator TAFT buckled down to work, in the job which was, in many ways, perhaps, more peculiarly one for him, and him alone, than the Presidency would have been—the job of majority leader in the Senate.

In that job he honestly tried to do his full part to make the Eisenhower administration a going concern, to cooperate with the President, to avoid slip-ups and maneuver successes, which could affect the ultimate judgment of the Nation on the performance of the first Republican Government in 20 years. He did not escape making some mistakes of his own, and he did not withhold criticism when he felt criticism was due. He spoke out forthrightly on the appointment of Secretary of Labor Durkin, for instance, and he uttered his views from his sick bed when he felt he had something of his own to say about the situation in Korea. In these actions, and in others which could be listed with them, he displayed the outstanding quality of his character—the quality which led ex-President Truman to say, in a sincere tribute, "I always knew where he stood."

That is a wonderful thing to be able to say about a man, in these days when so many are fearful to speak their minds lest they provoke criticism or stir up animosity. TAFT could let sleeping dogs lie, if he did not feel that his own honesty and the welfare of the country demanded that the dog be roused. His was a mind which could not rest in the face of realities which he felt had to be faced, however distasteful they might be to himself or others.

Critics of Senator TAFT could find fault with his actions, but they could seldom criticize his motives. That was true because he did not fool himself about his motives. If they were partisan, he would say so. Usually, his motives were based upon his honest conception of the truth, after painstaking search for the pertinent facts. He made up his mind on the facts, using his intelligence as well as his conservative viewpoint, to reach his conclusions. That is why he could be the sponsor of both such controversial measures as the Taft Housing Act and the Taft-Hartley labor law.

It will be hard for the Eisenhower administration to find a man who can replace TAFT, in the role of reasonable spokesman for the conservative wing of the party, and in the role of majority leader in a Senate so evenly split that victory may often depend on the prestige and personal qualities of the man in the job.

The loss of Senator TAFT at this time is a blow not only to the Republican Party, but to the entire country, for his tasks were almost as important as those of the President. Tagged with the

nickname "Mr. Republican," Senator TAFT was recognized, nevertheless, as a man of outstanding patriotism and integrity, whose partisan viewpoint did not obscure his view of the Nation's welfare. Such men are scarce in any party. The loss of any one is a great blow, the loss of the outstanding one is a tragic misfortune.

Mr. BUSH. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I include the following editorial from the April 28, 1954, issue of the Williamsport Sun, Williamsport, Pa., which pays tribute to a great man:

TAFT'S ENDURING MARK

Looking back less than a year after the death of Senator ROBERT A. TAFT, no one can say with any sort of finality where history will eventually place him. Yet it seems unlikely he will be found of lesser stature than such great lawmakers as Henry Clay, Daniel Webster, and John C. Calhoun.

What stirs fresh thoughts on TAFT's role in history is the publication of a book called The Taft Story. It is written by William S. White, a Washington press correspondent. It is not a biography—perhaps political profile would be a more accurate description.

At least it seems to appraise carefully the Senator's significance for his times.

White says that significance is large.

Apparently, however, there are persons who disagree. One historian, for example, has said he feels the passage of time will diminish TAFT's stature. He stressed the fact that, except for the Taft-Hartley Act, the Senator's name is attached to no important legislation.

This would seem a trivial and almost wholly irrelevant yardstick. Lawmakers are not baseball pitchers, to be judged by their won-and-lost record. Far more to the point is the power and influence a Senator may exert over the general course of legislation.

Gaged this way, Senator TAFT was one of the most powerful men ever to establish himself on Capitol Hill. Even through many years of the long Republican twilight while Democrats were reigning at both ends of Pennsylvania Avenue, the Ohioan's was the strongest single voice heard in the legislative hall.

A small part of this power came to TAFT because he was the bearer of a famous name. Much more came to him because he was the embodiment of great political forces, a symbol of order and stability to all who saw chaos in the trend of events.

Yet, fundamentally, he earned his position of power through tireless devotion to the substance and forms of lawmaking. As White

suggests, he was virtually born to the Senate. He made himself a legislative authority. He gained a reputation for honesty and integrity. With these things came high respect. With respect came dependence of others upon him, and with dependence came power.

True enough, TAFT'S name adorned very little legislation. But his imprint was on practically everything important the Senate did in his last 10 years of life. And the knowledge that it would be was a fact always to be reckoned with, by the whole Congress and the White House itself.

Unless the measure of a man's influence and significance alters radically in the next few decades, TAFT'S big mark on his own time will not easily fade.

Remarks by Representative Wainwright

Of New York

Mr. WAINWRIGHT. Mr. Speaker, although my political life has been short, and although my entrance into politics was as an early preconvention supporter of the President, it is obvious to me that our Nation has suffered a tragic political loss with the passing of Senator ROBERT TAFT.

I sorted over many of the articles written since his death in an effort to find a proper and fair appraisal of this great man's position. Two of these, I believe, are worthy of special attention.

On Sunday, August 2, the New York Times Weekly News Review had this to say:

WITHOUT TAFT

The first act of ROBERT A. TAFT when he came to the Senate in 1939 was to present a petition from sundry citizens of Ohio, praying that the United States adhere to a policy of neutrality. His entrance into floor debate came on a TVA bill. He began: "Are we not being fooled when it is said that the cost of the Gilbertsville Dam will be $95 million?" The petition and the question were characteristic. They were also prophetic.

In 15 years in the Senate and in 3 campaigns for the Presidential nomination (the last time he got the largest number of votes ever accorded a defeated candidate), Senator TAFT became the most forceful spokesman of sentiments which have deep roots in American history—an aversion to foreign entanglements and a suspicion of big government.

For millions of Republicans—with the heaviest concentration in the Plains States—these beliefs are the core and test of Republican orthodoxy. To them, Senator TAFT, with his attacks on "creeping socialism" and opposition to sending American troops to Europe, was the keeper of the ark of the Republican covenant. At times, however—when he voted for United States participation in the U. N. or for Federal aid to housing—he was accused of defection to the New Deal.

Inevitably he commanded the loyalty of Senators and Congressmen in his own party who shared his ideas of Republicanism. But by his talents he also commanded the respect of his opponents in both parties. He was a formidable antagonist in debate. He was an excellent committee man. He did not shrink from drudgery. And while many of his colleagues believed he misconstrued the facts he so laboriously mastered, they also agreed that at times the facts led him to turn upon himself, the hardest thing in politics, and one of the rarest. He modified his views on Government aid in housing, health, and education. He was quite ready to concede that experience had revealed flaws in the Taft-Hartley Act. And although he stubbornly opposed the loan to Britain, he subsequently voted for Marshall plan funds, though he usually fought to trim them.

But beyond his talents, it was his forthrightness, his independence of mind, that earned him the respect of his colleagues and the country. In his campaigning, he frequently expressed views that cost him votes.

OFTEN INCONSISTENT

Sometimes his independence of mind seemed sheer inconsistency, and he appeared to be standing on both sides of a question, but that was often because in his mind there were two questions. Thus, he refused to condemn Senator McCarthy and Representative Velde in their investigations of Communists. But he himself said that he doubted whether a professor should be fired just because he was a Communist.

To his followers, Senator TAFT was a statesman, one of the greatest in American history. To his opponents, he was a man of great native endowments who, in Edmund Burke's words, had obstinately and futilely set his face against "a mighty current in human affairs." In this sense, he was of the company of Lodge and Borah and Hiram Johnson. But they agreed he towered far above these men, and in this category the Democrats would probably place him by one of their own, Calhoun.

To a generation that could scarcely conceive of a Senate without TAFT, of Ohio, the end came with shocking suddenness. Late in April, Senator TAFT began to suffer pains in his left hip. In mid-June he gave up his Senate leadership for the rest of the session. On July 8, he underwent an exploratory operation of the abdominal wall in New York Hospital. Two weeks ago it was announced he would return within a few days to his Washington home. Last Tuesday his doctors said his condition had deteriorated somewhat. Thursday night he went into a deep coma. At 10:30 a. m., Friday, he died of highly malignant cancer. He was 63.

Those who had fought the Senator most fiercely and suffered most from his whips and scorns paid the finest tributes to his character. Harry S. Truman said: "* * * he knew where I stood and I knew where he stood. We need intellectually honest men like Senator TAFT in public service."

On Monday, August 3, the following article, which I have taken from the New York Herald Tribune, by Joseph Alsop, appeared:

THE REPUBLICAN FUTURE

(By Joseph Alsop)

WASHINGTON.—In Senator TAFT, the orthodox Republican Party has lost its towering figure. You have to go a very long way back in American history—perhaps as far as the time of Clay and Webster—to find the American political scene being dominated and influenced in the TAFT manner by any political leader who did not have the resources of the White House at his disposal.

What made TAFT's achievement all the more remarkable was that his power stemmed directly from his fine qualities. Those who disagreed with him, just as much as those who agreed, had to acknowledge his strong character, inexhaustible industry, hatred of sham and pretense, and deep Americanism.

His going has left a hole so big that a great many Republicans, who rather naturally tended to have a sort of father complex about him, are frankly wondering whether their party can carry on successfully without TAFT.

EISENHOWER HOLDS ANSWER

The answer to that question must, of course, be given by Dwight D. Eisenhower. Now, more than ever, his party's future as well as the Nation's future is in the President's hands. And this makes the new situation remarkably interesting, for it can be stated on unquestioned authority that one of the President's highest and most often stated aims is to remake the Republican Party in a new image.

Eisenhower's way of putting it is to say he wants to move his party over toward the political center. It is to be the conservative party still, for the President is a very conservative man himself. But it is to be more moderately conservative at home, following the line that Senator TAFT himself laid out. It is to be more aware of world realities and more ready to respond to challenges abroad. And above all, the loudest Republican noises are no longer to be made by the Republican extremists.

In other words, Eisenhower's aim for the national Republican Party is to do approximately what Gov. Thomas E. Dewey has so brilliantly done in New York State, where the Republicans have recaptured their old place as the majority party. But Eisenhower being Eisenhower, his methods have no tincture of Dewey's impatience and ruthlessness.

Even with his own Cabinet, Eisenhower has been patient. As the wiser among them are frank to admit, the big businessmen in the Cabinet had hardly an inkling of the size, the complexity, or even the general shape of the basic national problems when they came to Washington. The President must have been tempted at times to rush his colleagues a little—to tell them this was the way it was going to be and no more argument about it. Instead, "he let us learn," as the ablest of the businessmen, Secretary of the Treasury George Humphrey, is reported to have remarked admiringly.

Allowing time for the learning process made for a slow start, to be sure. But if Eisenhower was not to wield a big stick, a slow start was inevitable anyway; for there was also Congress to consider. Endless patience, friendliness, and persuasion were needed to make the smallest dent in what may be called the Republican anti-Eisenhower bloc, so strong in the Senate and House.

Not seldom, Eisenhower has been disheartened. There was a period, not very long ago, when the President had a way of bursting out to his friends among the Democratic leaders. He would tell them that the whole party system was illogical; that all the moderate men of good-will in the center ought to get together in one great party; that he wished this could be achieved. He was chafing, then, against what seemed to him the little progress he was making with his own extremists.

In all its effort, Senator TAFT was the President's loyal partner until he fell ill. It is hair-raising to think what the plight of this politically inexperienced administration might have been if TAFT had not been there to carry them through the first months. But in a curious way, Senator TAFT's illness forced the President into the role of active political leadership by breaking the White House habit of depending upon TAFT.

PRESIDENT'S LEADERSHIP WON

The struggle over the excess profits tax was the first test. But there have been many others since then. They have ranged from the McCarthy problem, as the White House calls it, to the obscure but important Status of Forces Treaty (establishing our soldiers'

rights in allied countries) for which the President personally changed four votes. With almost no exceptions, the President has got what he was after when he exerted personal leadership. The effect on the White House has been an almost electric increase of self-confidence.

For the future, it is certain that Eisenhower cannot carry with him every last one of the Republican extremists. But it is also certain (although few have noticed it) that several previously notorious extremists are trimming their sails to the Eisenhower breeze. Many Republicans, who really enjoy being extremists, may be unhappy about the party's tendency under Eisenhower. But they are none the less likely to be amply consoled by their party's transformation into a winning party—a true majority party—if Eisenhower gets his way.

Remarks by Representative Durham

Of North Carolina

Mr. DURHAM. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I am asking for the insertion of an editorial from my hometown paper on the recent loss to the Nation of Senator ROBERT A. TAFT. I feel that we have lost a great American and the Nation at large will feel a great loss in his passing.

The editorial follows:

[From the Chapel Hill (N. C.) Weekly]

ESTIMATES OF TAFT

BALTIMORE SUN

Senator TAFT had high intelligence; he had a quick mind and a thorough one. He was candid to a degree and had rigid standards of integrity and yet he knew the art of compromise. He was a strong-willed man and in his chosen field persistently ambitious, but always a clean fighter. He knew how to make faithful friends and he was a convincing speaker, but he had no use for the cheap devices by which many politicians acquire a reputation for charm and his personality radiated little warmth to the people generally. He had, however, a conception of that elusive thing which we call the American way of life which aroused a response in millions who like to call themselves old-fashioned and in which the gospel of hard work and honest dealing held a principal place.

More than any man in contemporary public life, Senator TAFT had a mind of his own. Sometimes the results could be exasperating, sometimes they could seem inconsistent, but always his announced opinion carried the stamp of a man who insisted on going his own way.

It was this stubborn independence of mind which set Senator TAFT apart from the run of politicians.

And yet it was in his final failure just a year ago that Senator TAFT most plainly demonstrated another characteristic of his personality not previously mentioned—his sense of loyalty. Since his entry on the national scene, he had made a career of opposition. His final disappointment might have justified, in his own mind and

in the minds of others, a continued attitude of opposition, this time within his own party. Instead, he agreed to accept the job of legislative leader for an administration with which, in many matters, he could not entirely sympathize. There is no doubt that during the months leading up to the discovery of his dreadful illness a new insight into the character of this honest and devoted servant had been vouchsafed to many.

NEW YORK HERALD TRIBUNE

ROBERT A. TAFT was a leader of great virtues, studious, outspoken almost to a fault, tireless in the pursuit of chosen ends. He was formidable in controversy, and in defeat his bearing was beyond praise. Years of combat and accomplishment made the Nation familiar with a figure essentially modest, smiling easily at what appeared to him the absurdities of the world, and ready to smooth the path of cold reason by an unexpectedly human touch. In our whole history only a few legislators have attained the degree of authority and respect he held. In a measure men feared him, for his mastery of lawmaking procedures was complete and his intellectual energy was spent prodigiously on every cause that interested him. Both his own colleagues and the larger public admired him, sensing the force of character within, recognizing him as one of those rare men who impress their convictions and certitudes upon the life around them.

Like a landscape where here and there the harsh, underlying rock crops out, his dislike of working in concert with other countries continually reasserted itself; and his last major speech was on such a theme. This newspaper opposed him for these views. But in thus opposing him—as in supporting all the rest that made him a powerful force, his progressive social views, his consistent regard for true liberty, his loyalty to the Republican Party—no one could question for a moment the man's honesty and the uprightness of his spirit.

Now, with his death, the administration suffers a heavy blow; his country and his party lose a servant they can ill spare.

CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

TAFT had an exceptional intellect, rare force of character, and a blunt honesty which the country respected. Without any of the gifts of histrionics and few of the arts of affability, he nevertheless held a position of undisputed congressional leadership in his party by breadth of information, depth of conviction, and even a genial warmth known best to his close associates.

He was a very complex man. Because his acute legal mind grasped distinctions not easy to convey to the layman and balked at imperfect measures or broad delegations of power, he sometimes appeared inconsistent to his critics; but he believed his positions to be coherent and sound, and not even his opponents doubted his integrity.

The final year of his career gave the Nation reason, moreover, to credit him with a magnanimity, a largeness of character, and an ability to surmount disappointment which more than ever entitled him to be called Mr. Republican. Through most of the first congressional session under a Republican administration in 20 years he was a pillar of strength to President Eisenhower and his party. It is perhaps in that role that Mr. TAFT deserves most to be remembered.

RALEIGH NEWS AND OBSERVER

After the convention last year it was expected that TAFT would be so soured by personal defeat that he would be a liability rather than an asset to a Republican administration headed by another.

Those estimates were proven to be wrong. Senator TAFT put his personal ambition behind him, and fought manfully for the Republican Party, justifying as never before the title of Mr. Republican, almost universally bestowed upon him some years ago.

He died with the very unusual distinction of having won his greatest prestige through defeat rather than victory.

His death is a heavy blow to the country and to the Eisenhower administration.

CHARLOTTE NEWS

With the inauguration of President Eisenhower in January, a new role fell to TAFT. After he lost the nomination at Chicago he put his grievances behind him and worked closely with the inexperienced Eisenhower administration, giving it the benefit of his wise counsel and advice. And on several occasions when the administration was in trouble—the Bohlen appointment, the extension of reorganization authority, excess-profits tax, reciprocal trade—TAFT's personal intervention staved off possible setbacks.

At first TAFT found a bit uncomfortable the new responsibilities that came with Republican control of the White House and the Congress. But he adjusted himself quickly, if not easily, and by the time his illness forced him to give up his duties entirely, he had grown to the job. The most poignant aspect of his death is that he was just entering upon the period of his greatest and most useful public service.

ROBERT ALPHONSO TAFT

The Eisenhower administration and the Republican Party as a whole will miss the Ohio Senator sorely. There is no ready replacement for Senator TAFT as adviser and consultant to the White House on legislative matters. He was the best informed of the Republicans on domestic matters, and no one knew better the whims and moods of the Senate, when it was proper to press for a particular bill, when a compromise should be worked out.

TAFT gave himself selflessly to the public service of his State and Nation. Though he never achieved the Presidency, he left a mark upon United States history more indelible than that of many men who did reach the White House.

JOSEPH ALSOP, COLUMNIST

TAFT did not imitate other politicians in speaking softly and walking carefully. Partly because of his essential honesty, partly because of his combativeness, he was more than usually careless of those who might disagree with him.

Hence the people who only saw his public face were sharply divided, into those who agreed with him, who were passionate in their admiration, and those who disagreed, who were almost equally passionate in their distrust. TAFT at work, in contrast, showed all his deeper qualities of courage and determination, intelligence, practicality, unremitting industry. Close to, even more than in public, the style of TAFT the man, the humor, the absence of the slightest trace of stuffed shirt, also showed very strongly.

These were the qualities that made TAFT a great and deeply respected legislator—one of the few Members of Congress in our times, indeed, to make an enormous national place for himself by the simple performance of his legislative duties and functions.

Remarks by Representative Donohue

Of Massachusetts

Mr. DONOHUE. Mr. Speaker, I would like to include a very timely and interesting article by Mr. Marquis Childs, appearing in a recent issue of the Washington Post commenting upon the most regrettable and unfortunate death of Senator TAFT and the advisability of increased Federal appropriations for cancer research.

This terrible disease strikes the low and the high with equal impunity, and it is indicative of the great character of the beloved Senator, as well as an irony of life, that he never could quite bring himself to indorse full Federal participation in the search for the cause and cure of cancer.

Nevertheless, our leading scientists on the subject believe that major Federal support is vitally necessary if we are to entertain any hope of quickly finding the root cause of this strange malady, and the means by which it can be curably controlled. As Mr. Childs so appropriately suggests, no more fitting memorial to Senator TAFT could be initiated by the Congress than to approve greater participation by the Federal Government in the scientific research to eliminate the disease that brought him an untimely death. The article follows:

MEMORIALIZING TAFT BY CANCER RESEARCH

(By Marquis Childs)

No one can estimate the loss not merely to the party and to the present administration but to the country in the death of Senator ROBERT A. TAFT. He was an exceptional example of the man of position and means who devotes himself to politics—and not by the easy route of appointment bought with generous party gifts but by the hard road of ward, precinct, and State.

Whatever one may have thought of his views at any given time, and those views were many and diverse, his knowledge of the political system in America was rivaled by few. That is one reason he will be so keenly missed here.

He was a good soldier, taking the defeat of his lifetime ambition at the Republican convention last year with every outward sign of good sportsmanship. And while he did not surrender his own views—on the contrary he pressed them in private as hard as he could—he worked to make the Eisenhower administration a success.

This reporter had a long talk with the Senator shortly before he left for the hospital in New York and what was to be his last illness. He talked of many things—the difficulties in the way of the Eisenhower legislative program, the tasks facing the Congress when it met in January, the fortunes of politics and war.

"They talk about a special session this fall," he said. "They don't want to come back and I don't think it would be possible to get them back. And, besides," he added, almost as though it were an afterthought, "my doctors tell me I won't be here."

That was all on that subject. One did not press him since he never dealt in personal sentiment. The report had already circulated that he had cancer and that the doctors had told him he had only a short time to live.

To this observer it seems time to talk frankly about a disease surrounded by so much hush-hush. TAFT is the fourth Senator in 2 years to die of cancer. The first was Senator Arthur H. Vandenberg, of Michigan, whose place as the veteran leader of bipartisanism in foreign policy has never really been filled. Then there was Senator Brien McMahon, of Connecticut, whose grasp of the atomic problem in all its ramifications was unequaled in Congress. The other was Senator Kenneth Wherry, of Nebraska, who shared TAFT'S knowledge of the practicalities of politics.

In view of this loss to the Nation, which only highlights the fearful toll in the country—250,000 persons die of cancer each year—the amount spent on cancer research seems pitiful. It seems especially pathetic when put alongside the hundreds of millions of dollars for research into new weapons such as the guided missile and the billions spent on atomic development.

The National Cancer Institute, one of the four Federal Institutes of Health at Bethesda, Md., receives annual appropriations from Congress for research. The amount for cancer in the Truman budget for the current year was $22 million. In the Eisenhower budget it was cut back to $15,780,000.

But in Congress part of the cut was restored, with a final appropriation of $20 million, of which $13 million would be for research. That happened when speaker after speaker cited the testimony of leading scientists urging funds to push current lines of research.

Research is costly because of the long and elaborate series of tests that must be run in connection with each line of exploration.

First, the tests must be run on laboratory animals. Then, in a later stage, under careful controls, the same tests are made on patients suffering from cancer.

TAFT in his Senate career was never sympathetic to the use of Federal funds for this purpose. In 1949 he moved on the Senate floor to kill an amendment that would have added $15 million for cancer studies. It took a month to get it restored, and then finally in conference between the two Houses all but $4 million of the amount was lost. In 1950 an addition of $17 million was proposed and defeated by a vote of 48 to 36. TAFT was one of those voting in the negative.

No one can say, of course, whether the impetus which these sums would have given to research might have contributed enough to knowledge in so short a time as to have helped TAFT's condition. But there are experts who believed a concentrated attack with large sums for unlimited research would find the answer.

As it is, dedicated believers in medical research such as Mrs. Albert Lasker and Mrs. Florence Mahoney spent weeks crusading on Capitol Hill to get Congress to approve present appropriations. If TAFT's colleagues want to memorialize him, they could do no better than to start the search for the killer in a really big way.

Remarks by Representative Reams

Of Ohio

Mr. REAMS. Mr. Speaker, under leave heretofore taken, I desire to place in the Appendix of the Record a statement from the New Yorker magazine. It was written by Richard H. Rovere. It seems to me to be an unusually clear expression of at least one of the facets of the great personality which was ROBERT A. TAFT.

The statement follows:

(By Richard H. Rovere)

T. V. Smith, the academic philosopher who served briefly and brilliantly as a Democratic Congressman from Illinois, once described ROBERT A. TAFT as "a man full of character." It was a simple enough tribute but a great one, and closer to the essential truth about TAFT than all the talk about the Senator's integrity and courage and rectitude. It was the despair of Taft's political managers that he lacked a politically marketable personality; he could never develop one, because his character kept getting in the way. The words that would have made him seem a good fellow always stuck in his throat. Words that made him seem a bad fellow kept popping out—as when, for example, he gave his classic formula for meeting the challenge of high food prices: "Eat less." He was an odd, improbable, fascinating combination of sweet reasonableness and ungovernable passion. The public thought of him as a dogmatist, but behind the tough and self-assured rhetoric was a questioning mind, and one more familiar with doubt than with certitude. The chilliness the public sensed in him was an illusion. He liked people very much and was shy and careful in all his relationships. He was restrained because he knew that there was a great deal in him that needed restraining. Sometimes he went out of control and the spectacle was unlovely. Above everything else, he was unique, identifiable, typical only of himself. Few saw their own image in him, or their father's or their brother's, and that is probably why he died a Senator. It is also why he will be remembered.

Remarks by Representative Morano

Of Connecticut

Mr. MORANO. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I wish to include an editorial from the Bridgeport Sunday Herald which proposes a Federal cancer research project as a tribute to the late Senators ROBERT A. TAFT and Brien McMahon.

NEEDED: TAFT-MCMAHON FEDERAL CANCER PROJECT

The death of Senator ROBERT A. TAFT has a special poignancy for Connecticut because it recalls the passing of Senator Brien McMahon just a year ago this week.

Both men, valued lawmakers and distinguished patriots, died of the same dreaded cancer. There was a flurry of interest following Senator McMahon's death in a new memorial research project to combat the disease. Nothing much has been reported about it since.

It may be that the names of these two great leaders could be joined in a specialized memorial project to give medicine new methods and tools to stay, if not negate, cancer's ravages. Friends of the late Senators, who were on opposite sides of the political fence, should give consideration to this suggestion.

There were grief, sincerity, and hypocrisy in the flood of TAFT eulogies that swept across the press. Among the most concise and penetrating was that of ex-President Harry S. Truman. He said: "We need intellectually honest men like Senator TAFT in public service.

"He and I did not agree on public policy, but he knew where I stood and I knew where he stood," declared Truman. "His death is a great loss to the country."

The political miracle that is revealed by Senator TAFT's tragic death is of a nation sharply divided and closely united. The New Dealers and Fair Dealers, as personified by ex-President Truman, understand the necessity of a conservative viewpoint and drive, so vividly exemplified by Senator TAFT. Many in the ranks behind TAFT and his trusted lieutenants accepted the vitality of the policies of their unswerving adversaries.

There is another miracle, that of personality and principle, by which Senator TAFT may be best remembered. Perhaps never certainly seldom, did two men contest more vehemently for the Republican Presidential nomination than did General Eisenhower and Senator TAFT in 1952.

And yet the breach was so completely healed it is reported Senator TAFT remarked when he learned of the seriousness of his ailment that he must persist in his party leadership because Ike needed him.

Senator McMahon's death gave the Republicans technical control of the Senate. Senator TAFT's death may give the Democrats similar control. But that is an academic consideration not to be faced until the next regular session.

Europe's view of the late Senator is understandably limited. To Europe he was an isolationist. He was, but in TAFT's characteristic manner to be interpreted only in the context of the American scene.

Ironically, he knew the sting of being called socialistic by those who fought him on public housing and similar humanitarian measures. Labor often called him antediluvian but respected his integrity and sincerity.

After the foregoing was written a reader phoned to suggest the United States Government could pay no greater tribute to Senators TAFT and MCMAHON than to establish a cancer research project, financed if need be on the scale of the Manhattan atomic energy project.

Private research and such other undertakings as that founded by friends of Damon Runyon are doing invaluable work in the field. But the national determination to allay the scourge could in no other way be so dramatized and its success speeded as by a federally sponsored TAFT-MCMAHON cancer project.

Remarks by Representative Judd

Of Minnesota

Mr. JUDD. Mr. Speaker, recently I had the honor of participating in a series of lectures given at Taft School, Watertown, Conn., in honor of Senator ROBERT A. TAFT at the school founded by his uncle, Horace Taft, and at which he received his preparatory training. I was invited to discuss American policy in the Far East. Under leave to extend my remarks, I include a condensation of my address:

THE FREE WORLD'S STAKE IN ASIA

It is a great honor indeed to be invited to participate in this series of lectures to commemorate the life and work of your distinguished alumnus and trustee, Senator ROBERT A. TAFT.

Seldom has there been a man whose words and deeds were so forthright, and whose life and conduct were so open to public view for so many years. Yet seldom has there been a man about whom so many people held such wholly different opinions, and were so almost violently sure that their understanding of him was the correct one, and the only correct one.

Doubtless, the explanation is that he was a good deal more than any one of them knew or understood. That facet of his nature which attracted their allegiance or their opposition did exist. But it was only one of the many facets of a mind and character, which with all their simplicity, were extraordinarily varied.

In a previous lecture Mr. W. S. White of the New York Times, who is writing a biography of Senator TAFT, has described to you the man and the statesman, his nobility, his caliber, his courage, and his kindliness.

As my small contribution to the total picture of ROBERT A. TAFT which will grow in stature and greatness as time goes on, I should like to mention some of the outstanding characteristics which I myself observed through many contacts—congressional, political, personal.

It was my privilege to serve on the original Joint Committee on the Economic Report which was set up in the legislation designed to keep employment in America at as high as level as possible. In the sessions of that committee, usually on complicated economic

questions, my first impression—and a never-ending source of astonishment—was Bob Taft's incredible brain. On almost every subject that came up he knew more facts, ranging from basic principles to detailed figures, than I knew how to dig out in the library.

His mind seemed to me primarily analytical. At a glance he could spot doubletalk in a bill or report and point out obscure language that seemed innocent enough but which actually contained or could be stretched to include grants of authority that were not apparent on the surface, and he always expressed himself as clearly and succinctly as he thought.

One soon became as acutely conscious of the integrity of his mind as of its brilliance. Such integrity is a moral quality. I have never known any person in whom there was greater oneness of the moral and the intellectual.

Unfortunately, some people assume that integrity means mere stubborness or blind consistency just for the sake of consistency. He was almost worshipped by many ultra-conservatives who assumed that his thinking was as fixed and frozen as their own. They never grasped that he was a genuine liberal in the true and historic sense of that word. By definition the true liberal is, of course, for maximum freedom and against rigidity, especially that rigidity which a government agency almost invariably tends to develop within itself and then to impose on those who come under its jurisdiction.

Bob Taft was inflexible as to principle, but extraordinarily flexible in application to differing situations. Some people called these adaptations compromises or inconsistencies, as if any political compromise is to be condemned. But compromise is unworthy only if made for personal reasons or to advance one's own political future. It is the mark of successful statesmanship when adjustments are made in minor details in order to achieve major objectives in the larger interests of the Nation.

The best statement I have seen of this combination of firmness and adaptability, which was so un-understandable and even irritating to lesser minds, was written by Henry Hazlitt in the Freeman of August 24, 1953.

"Sometimes he [Taft] would modify a position because he considered himself a servant of the people, and believed that a majority of the people were entitled to the final say. This trait was vividly brought home to me in connection with the same radio program I mentioned a while back. [On How Can We Legislate for General Welfare Without Curbing Personal Liberty.] On the

afternoon before the program, TAFT asked me to come over to see him in connection with the evening's debate—chiefly, I found, because he wanted to break gently to me the news that his position on the welfare state was going to be less uncompromising than my own.

" 'You know,' he said, 'I spent years fighting these so-called welfare measures, and never got an ounce of public support. So I've decided that the American people want these things. And if they want them, they'll get them; and they're entitled to get them. Now our problem, it seems to me, is how to build fences and other safeguards around these measures to keep them from spreading and threatening liberties. * * *' And he went on to explain in detail what these 'fences' should be.

"TAFT, in short, made compromises because he believed that through them he could accomplish more good in the long run; but he never made a compromise to serve a purely personal end."

Senator TAFT was accused by some of being narrowly partisan, but never by any who knew him well. In party matters as in all others his primary concern was to determine what was right and in the best interests of the country. He proved on many occasions that he was not opposed to bipartisanship—if the policy deserved bipartisanship. But he knew that it was far more important to the country that a policy be right than it be bipartisan. He supported the Republican Party not because of any fanatical loyalty to it as such, but because he was convinced that its basic philosophy of government and its policies were nearest right on the most important issues. One of the reasons that they were nearest right was because he himself played such a large part in determining them.

He was called an isolationist by the Truman administration, in part because he would not go along with its policy of opposing communism in Europe while trying to appease it in Asia. He knew it was bound to fail as it has. He saw and repeatedly pointed out the fallacy in a fundamental premise of America's foreign policy in the immediate postwar years, namely, the illusion that the independence of Europe is more essential to American security than the independence of Asia; and its corollary, that Europe and the North Atlantic could be kept in the free world even if Asia were allowed to go behind the Iron Curtain.

In hard fact he was less isolationist than those who placed almost all their emphasis on building up Europe with only half-hearted efforts to keep Asia free.

Although his thinking was rejected by those in power, his constant insistence that events in Asia are just as important to us as those around the North Atlantic, has proved tragically correct. We got into two wars in Asia, while looking in the other direction, at Europe. And it is Communist gains in Asia today which have done most to reduce the stability and security of the countries in Europe to which so much attention and aid have been given.

To put it another way, the success of the Marshall plan and other programs of assistance to Europe is jeopardized today by failure at the same time to develop and follow similar policies and plans in Asia.

Perhaps Stalin's greatest victory was in persuading the administration then in power—but not Robert Taft—to concentrate most of its attention and efforts on Europe while Stalin concentrated his on Asia. If the Communists can consolidate their position in China and develop the vast manpower and natural resources of that country so as to weaken and, one by one, gradually take over, probably from within, the various countries lying around China, then Europe will be cut off from much of its markets and sources of raw materials. How it can then resist the pressures of the Soviet bloc has yet to be explained.

The immediate objective of a sound foreign policy in Asia must be to try to prevent any further gains by the Kremlin, especially in the 12 countries that lie as a crescent around China from Korea and Japan to Iran. In these 12 countries live approximately one-third of all the human beings in the world. The chief impressions gained from two trips to these countries within a year are as follows:

1. Most of their people and leaders are now awake to the nature of the Communist conspiracy. Perhaps the greatest long-range benefit of the war in Korea was that it prevented the Communists from taking over southeast Asia in 1950 and 1951 when they could have done it with relative ease. During the 3 long years while the Communists were tied down in Korea, the truth about communism in China leaked out. The reports of the refugees from Communist China, and the overwhelming rejection of it by its own indoctrinated troops when given a chance to make a free choice as prisoners of war, exploded the myth that the Communist regime in China is supported overwhelmingly by the people of that unhappy country.

2. The peoples of free Asia today fear communism instead of half-welcoming it, because they now know it will destroy the freedom from alien control which they have so recently won with such great effort.

3. Overwhelmingly they want to be on the side of the United States and the free world, because they realize that is their best chance of retaining their national independence.

4. But they hesitate to take an open stand for the free world, because they are uncertain as to the clarity and constancy of our purpose and policy with respect to them. Frankly, they are afraid that if the Kremlin should come to one of these conferences with some sort of package settlement which would appear to give security and peace to the countries around the North Atlantic, we might accept the deal, even though it be at the expense of the free peoples of Asia, and to the benefit of the Communist China that threatens their survival. A Cabinet member in one of those countries said, "How can you expect us to defy the Communist giant, just across our border, when some of your allies although 5,000 miles away are pressing you to accept Communist China?"

This is the main reason for their neutralism. We cannot expect them to take an open stand on our side until and unless we make it clear to them that we will not let them down again as the West has done on too many occasions in the past, both before and since Yalta.

Just as France is the question mark in Europe, so the big question mark to these people in Asia is the United States of America.

What can and should the United States do to retrieve the steadily deteriorating situation in Asia?

1. We must recognize frankly that it is the security, even the survival, of the free world that is at stake in Asia.

2. We must recognize that the Communist objective is the same in Asia as everywhere, to weaken the free world, and especially to isolate and destroy the United States, which is all that stands between the Kremlin and total world conquest.

3. We must understand that world war is not the immediate danger. The first stage in the Communist program is always to subvert the weak, mostly in Asia. The second is to confuse and divide the strong, mostly in Europe. Only then does war, as a final knockout blow, become advantageous to the Communists.

4. Since the Communists have demonstrated repeatedly that they will not go to war unless or until they have become strong enough or the free world weak enough so that they are sure they will win, we must both keep ourselves strong and help keep the free world free. That is, we must not let the Reds gain any more victories—military, economic, or diplomatic. Admission to the U. N. would be the greatest possible diplomatic and political victory. Free Asia will crumble if convinced that the Communists are winning. Ad-

mission to the United Nations would mean to Asia, and should mean to us, that the Reds have already won.

5. We must never forget that in addition to keeping the free world free, we must find ways and means to encourage and help the enslaved peoples become free. That means we must not build up their enslavers. It is another reason why we must not give recognition to the Communists and thereby increase their prestige, influence, and power in the world.

6. We must also keep the Chinese Communists in economic trouble at home by resisting resumption of trade with them. If they are not our enemies, why do we draft and arm men to fight them? If they are our enemies, how can anyone suggest we do anything to make them stronger?

7. We must give greater encouragement and assistance to the free Chinese on Formosa and elsewhere, not for an attempted mass invasion of the Chinese mainland, but to enable them to smuggle agents and suitable supplies to the mainland to keep hope alive and to enable the resistance forces to do to the Reds exactly what the Reds for years did to the Nationalists—destroy communications, isolate the cities, disrupt the economy.

8. We must recognize that the only way we can achieve real security for the free world in Asia is by weakening, loosening, and eventually breaking the hold of the Communist regime in China. To break Communist China would immediately remove the danger to the rest of east and south Asia. Until Communist China is broken, no measures to save those areas are likely to have lasting success.

9. We must recognize that our most important ally is this titanic struggle—and the most dependable—is the oppressed peoples behind the Iron Curtain. Witness the revolt in East Berlin and the decision of Communist prisoners of war to choose freedom in exile on Formosa, rather than return even to their homes and families in enslaved China. America must put her faith in these oppressed people, and not in cynical deals with their oppressors.

What are the prospects for such an American policy? It has been developing steadily since the Eisenhower administration took over last year. Here are some indications:

1. Our Government is at last awake to the nature and methods of the Communist world conspiracy. So it is demanding deeds, not words, from Communist governments. For without deeds, the words are useless. We will not be party to any new Munich or Yalta.

2. Our Government is now aware that this planet is one strategic area, so there is balanced attention to Asia and Europe. Witness

the new Joint Chiefs of Staff—all experts on Asia for the first time in our history. Witness again the President's state of the Union message. The foreign policy section began with three paragraphs on Asia. The illusion that we can keep Europe free without a free Asia is ended. Eventually the illusion that we can keep Asia free without a free China will have to be ended also.

3. Our Government is aware that effective resistance to the Communist threat in Asia is more a military than an economic matter. The Reds have never been able to seize a single country, beginning with Russia, except by force of arms. Hence there is more emphasis on military aid to countries that have the will to use it than on general economic aid to those without such a will.

4. Our Government is aware that in dealing with the Communist world conspiracy, our best military weapon, both to prevent a world war, and to win such a war if the Reds insist on it, is not local resistance around the periphery of the satellites, but massive retaliation against the principals which supply and control the satellites. Hence there is more emphasis on air and sea where we are strongest and can best get at the enemy, if he insists on war; and less emphasis on land where he is strongest and we can do him least damage.

5. Our Government is aware that our strongest ally in this struggle for survival—the one able to do the enemy most harm—is the peoples behind the Curtain who know Communist tyranny for what it is. We must not weaken this ally by any deals that would build up the tyrants. There could be no greater act of madness than to imagine that we can reform Communists by marrying them. The best way to influence our enemies is to stand steadfastly by our friends.

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